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TheGuardian Weekly

Veek ending February 16, 1997



sometimental and and antique the University

Britain to squeeze student numbers

John Carvel

ENS of thousands of qualified students in Britain face being turned away from university will not be profitable to spend public money on educating them for deadend jobs or relatively lowly careers. Ministers have told Sir Ron Dear-

ing's committee of inquiry on the supply of graduates is likely to outstrip the economy's demand for them within the next three years. They are warning that increasing numbers of young people who obtain two A levels or equivalent your tional qualifications can no longer regard them as an almost automatic passport to university.

There is a limit to how many extra graduates the economy can absorb before the increased productivity they generate starts to decline," said the Department for dence quietly placed in the House of ommons library last week.

In the financial services sector. raduates were already starting to fill clerical and sales jobs which did not need their level of academic atnment. The Government would be concerned if a trend towards reuiting graduates to unmodified ow-level posts developed," the department said. "So long as higher education is funded from the public purse, the projected rate of return to the nation's investment should be a major factor in determining the appropriate size of initial full-time

The evidence challenges a central tenet of previous policy on higher education, which assumed the universities would continue to grow to produce a highly qualified workforce capable of matching international competition. It also runs counter to the thrust of President Clinton's "national crusade for education", which formed the cornerstone to his State of the Union address to Congress last week (see page 6).

The Confederation of British In-dustry has consistently demanded that the proportion of young people going into higher education should 30 per cent to 40 per cent or more.

The department estimates that by the turn of the century, 38 per cent of young people aged 18 to 21 will have both the qualifications and desire to embark on an undergraduate course. This would increase the number of students from 900,000 to about 1.1 million within seven years.

The Government has warned Sir Ron that there would not be enough "graduate" jobs to absorb these tudents without an unacceptable reduction on its rate of return on its investment in higher education currently 7 to 9 per cent.

The evidence concluded: "There can be no assumption that higher education's share of the total education budget from public funds will increase or can even in the medium term be sustained at its present level of over 20 per cent of the edu-

shell for British vice-chancellors already struggling to run universities after a 36 per cent cut in funding per student over the past 10 years. It in creased the probability that the next vernment would introduce tuition ees as an alternative way of meeting demand for university places Ministers and their Labour coun-

the Prime Minister, John Major, is inderstood to be concerned that fees would offend principles of

Officials at the DIEE were embar rassed that evidence to what they regard as the most important in quiry in the department's history had been quietly placed in the Com-mons library without any comment hard, the Education Secretary.



Two die as Albania boils over

Joanna Robertson in Viore

"HE Albanian prime minister, Alexander Meksi, asked parliament to introduce a state of emergency in the southern port of Vlore after mother two protesters died in

on Monday. Two people died of gunshot wounds and one man died of heart failure the previous night. the director of Vlore hospital sald. There were 84 wounded the wards, 25 seriously.

In his address to the chambe Albania's rightwing president, Sali Berisha, Mr Meksi de-nounced rioting in the town as violent actions of terrorist

1,000 riot police took their battle to the rooftops of Vlore's tatty concrete blocks. Police opened fire on demonstrators as the two sides hurled stones at each other.

Protesters drove back police n the main square where they had gathered peacefully for five days to denounce Mr Berisha and demand the return of savings lost in collapsed pyramid nvestment schemes.

Demonstrators dragged wrecked cars and oil drums to the police station, erected barricades and set them alight. They aptured several riot police, stripped them naked and burned their uniforms. Many police suffered the additional indignity of being rescued fron

About 30 police crouching behind plastic shields endured an onslaught of stones and then tables and chairs dropped from

forces had decided not to

Crowds shouted "Vlore will never be defeated" and called the president a thicf. Elderly men and women smashed up paving stones by the side of the road to keep younger demonstrators supplied with ammunition.

Most of the population of Vlore lost their life savings in the Gjallica investment company which crashed last week. Many had invested all the money they had earned from working in Italy

They say they will continue to

Pyramids of despair, page 16 Le Monde, page 17

Muslim revolt starties China

Balkan dirty war haunts Milosevic

Guardian victory for press freedom

Clinton's political 28 godmother dies

Apartheid rules in Cape vineyards

Malta 50c Netherlands G 4.75 Norway NK 16 Portugel E300 Saudi Arabia SR 6 60 Spain P 300 Germany DM 4 Spain P 300 Greece DR 450 Sweden Sk. 19 L 3,000 Switzerland SF 3.30

Ecuador survives a week of craziness

Monte Hayes of AP in Quito and Phil Gunson

CUADOR emerged peacefully on Monday from nearly a week of constitutional chaos after Presidismissed by Congress for "mental the country's first woman leader, incapacity" but refused to step created new turmoil by insisting she

nation appeared to have three rival governments - with the president, vice-president and leader of Congress all claiming to be in charge until the army stepped in to restore constitutional propriety.

would not leave office until the coun-For a few days the small Andean try's constitution was amended. In nationwide labour strike. the end she agreed to adhere to the

Brought in temporarily to quell the crisis caused by Mr Bucaram's hoyant president on Thursday last hoyant president on Thursday last Sunday morning, Ms week by 44 votes to 34, accusing was recognised by Conditional Congress. alia Arteaga, nearly caused another him of corruption, nepotism and by suggesting she might not step embarrassing behaviour during his down as planned.

Ms Arteaga, promoted last Sunloved a month of violent street
loved a month

military-backed plan for her to step quit the presidential palace, but fled down when Congress names a new to his home in the port of Guayaquil chief executive. That could happen when the commander of the sevas early as Tuesday, when the legislature was due to meet.

six months in office. The vote fol-El Loco, or "the crazy one" — was day from vice-president to become protesta against Mr Bucaram, whose austerity measures sharply raised the cost of living. His dis-

missal was preceded by a 48-hour Initially, Mr Bucaram refused to

orders from Mr Bucaram, "since he is no longer in office, having been Arteaga was recognised by Con-gress as the interim president, after its first choice, parliamentary leader Fablán Alarcón, agreed to step down.

Meanwhile Mr Bucaram warned: "Ecuador is going to be a disaster. And I can assure you that the people will ask me to return in a month and

Although he took office less than a year ago, the lawyer and populist, aged 44, had squandered support by erratic behaviour that eurned | Fronce him his nickname and by economic measures that hugely increased the

WHITE-MAJORITY jury in

A Santa Monica, California,

found O J Simpson responsible

for the deaths of his ex-wife and

her friend and ordered him to

pay \$33.5 million in damages.

HE National Front overcame

a cross-party campaign of

a fourth municipality in the

French town of Vitrolles, near

A SUPREME court judge was shot dead in Spain and a

Tula byelection. As a member of

the Duma he will gain immunity

THE Bolivian government declared a state of national

destroyed the homes and crops

S IX thousand U'wa Indians in Colombia, who had threat-

ened to commit mass suicide in

protest at plans to explore their

BULGARIA'S ruling Socialist Party, under intense pres-sure from a month of street

protests, agreed to hold new

A MIAMI businessman, Ludwig Fainberg, was facing

caught for allegedly trying to buy

a submarine from Russia for use by a Colombian drug cartel.

STEPHEN Anderson, aged 22, who allegedly shot his

of Raurimu, New Zealand,

family at a reunion in the village

appeared in court charged with

nurder. He entered no plea.

30 indictments after being

Washington Post, page 19

ancestral lands for oil, won a

court case against the US oil

of thousands of farmers and

emergency as heavy rains

from prosecution as well as

political legitimacy.

drowned livestock.

glant Occidental.

Comment, page 15

Washington Post, page 20

The Week

Catherine Bennett (Suffer the children, February 9) for making her plea for more space and fewer babies. A high birthrate was necessary when the mortality rate was higher. Today it spells disaster for the environment. It is natural for women to want children, but would it not be better if fertility clinics were replaced by adoption agencies? There are enough motherless infants in the world to satisfy would-

ATHERINE BENNETT'S cyni-Cism leads her astray. Few parents would take "complacent pleasure" in "stories of frustrated child-bearing", and anyone who has witnessed the pitiful égoisme à deux of so many childless couples would scarcely regard them as "models of

Children are not commodities to be valued or rejected according to considerations of quality, quantity or convenience.

(Dr) Margaret Maison. Swanage, Dorset

HAT criteria does Catherine VV Bennett use to assert that Britain is overcrowded? The definition of the space human beings need is bound to be relative. Not all babies in the UK are born in council estates with poor recreational facilities. Space is not necessarily the problem. The problem is the unwillingness of some adults to

Indicaelle Thise. College of Europe, Bruges, Belgium

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Europe, U.S.A., Canada.....

Rest of the world.....

United Kingdom...

Cardholder's signature.....

ALTHOUGH it must be difficult for infertile couples to listen to arguments that Britain (and the world) does not need more children, they could help to reduce psychological pressure on the childless.

The family-values proponents would have you believe that parenthood is all-important; in today's world, it is a course of action that carries enormous responsibility, which many adults clearly cannot meet. Isn't it about time we acknowledged this and stopped putting parenthood on a pedestal? YSFyfe,

Easter Compton, Bristol

IF CHILDREN are suffering as a result of both parents working fulltime, why is the finger being pointed only at women (Working mums blamed for children's failures, February 9)? Because, despite years of legislative reforms and campaigning, child-rearing remains the sole responsibility of women. Women are entertained in the workplace so long as they are childless, but when motherhood arrives, the prevailing view is that they should be consigned to low-status and lowpaid part-time jobs, or to the home.

We should be considering the following policies: more flexible working for both parents; more part-time working by men and the final realisation of equal pay for women so that it is not always women - as the lower wage earner - who has to make sacrifices; and the development of employment practices that mean career advancement does not stop for part-time workers.

2 years

Clare McGlynn. University of Newcastle upon Tyne,

A hunger for freedom

T IS an outrage that asylum-seekers should be detained in prisons alongside convicted criminals as highlighted by the hunger strikers at HMP Rochester (Hunger strikers close to death, February 9)

Asylum-seekers are undergoing a second exile in this country, starkly outlined in a recent report on the mental health implications of asylum seekers in the UK. Funded by the Barrow Cadbury Trust and North Birmingham Mental Health Trust, it examined a number of asylumseekers in detention. It was found that they had been held, on average, for eight months. Of this group, 27 per cent had a history of torture, 33 per cent of detention and 33 per cent of bereavement.

Upon medical assessments, nine out of the 15 were released and six went on to receive exceptional leave to remain or full refugee status, conradicting government statements that persons likely to receive asylum are released. The report concluded that medical provision for detainees is unsatisfactory. The policy of detention is purposely harsh, to act as a deterrent to potential asylum-seekers. Vijay Singh Riyait, Gateshead

THE hunger strike coincides with the criminalisation of anyone who employs an illegal immigrant. Both are symptoms of a hidden agenda of racial discrimination embodied in UK immigration law which reached new depths of inhumanity in the Asylum and Immigration Act 1996, with its withdrawal of social security benefits from significant

categories of asylum-seekers. In the case of immigration, the law institutionalises racial prejudice and undermines the status and security of black and Asian communities in Britain. It also deprives eral categories of British citizenship of rights guaranteed by UN and uropean conventions on human rights and on the status of refugees. The only way to right these wrongs is a radical reform of legislation.

Christian Action for Justice in Immigration Law, Glasgow

Don't put profit before people

THE Australian government is in a dilemma with the European Union over the latter's human rights clause in bilateral trade agreements. It is, however, no dilemma for the Australian people. As with our European colleagues we enjoy the host of religious, civil and political human rights, including generous labour conditions, which are essen-

democratic traditions. We are appalled, but not surprised, that our government wants to deny its international responsibilities concerning the oppressed and Tick box if this is a renewal order D the abused of the world by separatations. There appears to be very Australian government, which has much in common with the Association of South-East Asian Nations the Aboriginal people, have met with the same mean-fisted sentiments | Andrew Riemer,

to live in parts of Australia in Third It may be argued that Australia

lost the vote in October 1996 for the non-permanent member's seat it the United Nations Security Council because of the perception by UN members that ambivalence and duplicity by any member in the face of universal human rights is totally unacceptable. Now with a new impasse with the EU it is as if the Australian government has learnt nothing

from this episode. As spokesperson for the human rights groups Humanity First and Australians for a Free East Timor I applaud the EU in its dedication to human rights and appeal for steadfastness and vigilance to secure a world where human rights are the first and final factor in national and international relations. Iim Aubrey,

University of Melbourne, Australia

A USTRALIA should be celebrating the recent decision by its High Court on native title. The judges ruled that pastoral leases do not necessarily extinguish the native title rights of indigenous Australians. This gives us the chance to move a step closer to becoming a mature, just nation.

Finally, the colonising legal system is beginning to acknowledge what Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander people have been saying for more than 200 years: they owned the land before we arrived and they have never given up those rights.

We should be negotiating a comprehensive and just settlement with indigenous Australians. It needs to provide for land use agreements that protect both indigenous peoples' cultural and economic rights and miners' and farmers' business interests. It also needs to provide land rights and compensation for the majority of indigenous Australians who cannot benefit from native title claims because they were forcibly moved off their lands, or whose stolen lands are now occupied by others under freehold title. Matt Davies.

Manuka, ACT, Australia

Fruitless return to family roots

MAY I add a footnote to Annick Cojean's account of the disputes in Teltow, outside Berlin (Trouble brewing on the home front, February 2)? In 1943 my parents "sold" their house on the outskirts of Budapest to an Aryan family. My parents always said that they received no payment, but were told that if they agreed to "sell". they would be allowed to remove their furniture and possessions.

I found the house in 1991. A man scratching around in the front garden grew suspicious. He demanded what I wanted. When I tially a part of our shared liberal mentioned my name, it obviously rang alarm bells. He began pleading with me: his parents had bought the house in good faith. I tried to reassure him, in broken Hungarian, that I had no intention of making any claim against his ing human rights from trade negoti- family. I don't think he believed me. To this day I am haunted by little that can change this view of the the thought of the anguish that my sentimental attempt to search for the past had caused these people who were as innocent as I am of the (Asean). Even the first Australians, terrible things that happened

over "reconciliation." They continue | Mossman, NSW, Australia

Briefly

"PEOPLE like Mladic, Karadzic, Arkan or Seselj" (where's Milosevie?) will probably never be put in the dock for war crimes "because the international community regards such an operation as too risky" (Genocide waits for its day in court, January 25). What international community? Certainly not the international connumity of ordinary people, who would undoubtedly like to see justice done to those responsible for he wars which spawn war crimes.

What is meant, surely, is the international club of politicians, and the arms merchants they serve so staunchly at such a price to humanity and its future. What is risky for them is the precedent that might put in the dock future Reagans and Bushes (Nicaragua, etc), Thatchers (the Belgrano) and, even more unthinkable, the likes of British Aerospace and the vendors of anti-personnel mines. Show trials of token thugs are futile while the biggest criminals have nothing to fear.

Paul Winstanley. Palmerston North, New Zealand

T WAS surprising to learn from Owen Bowcott (December 22) that the United States ejected the Spanish from the Philippines in

Although they captured Manila - slamming the gates in the faces of their then allies, the Filiphos—it was the latter who drove out the Spanish from the rest of their comtry by their own efforts, declaring idependence on June 12, 1898.

Balingasa, Philippines

MAY I take this opportunity to congratulate David Rose on nis review of A Sivanandan's When Memory Dies (January 19). However, Rose ends his review of the book with the chilling words: "The squandering of this legacy is a crime that cannot be forgiven."

Surely this should have ended "The squandering of this legacy is a rime that cannot be forgotten but must be torgiven." Bloody conflicts of this kind can only be resolved, in the long term, by reconciliation. J II Jessop. Ostroicka, Poland

REALISE how difficult it must be for you English journalists to sort out all the pretentious geopolitical and postal designations insisted upon by those boring old colonies but I was none the less a bit taken aback to see a letter (February 2) purportedly from Susan Tonkin Curtili, ACT, Canada.

The Australian Capital Territory s some considerable distance from Canada, and Australia did have a prime minister named John Curtin.

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Muslim riots shake China

Andrew Higgins in Hong Kong and David Hearst in Moscow

SPASM of anti-Chinese un rest has convulsed a mainly Muslim region in the far west of China, with at least 10 people killed in rioting that left streets scattered with flaming vehicles and, according to one account, burnt

The town of Yining, near the border with Kazakhstan, has been placed under curfew and sealed off from the rest of Xinjiang, a vast region of deserts and mountains in the heart of Central Asia where China tests its nuclear weapons. Some reports spoke of many more casualties. Accounts vary on the trigger for last week's turmoil, the most serious in the region since a 1990 rebellion that led China to deploy tens of thousands more security personnel in Xinjiang.

China has tried to conquer the

Shyam Bhatla and

on Israeli soldiers.

leuter in Jerusalem

SRAEL'S prime minister, Blnya-

min Netanyahu, called last week-

end for an end to growing public

debate on a unilateral troop with-

drawal from south Lebanon, saying

such talk could encourage attacks

He was speaking hours after

seven Israeli soldiers were wounded

in a clash with Hizbullah guerrillas

n the Israeli-occupied zone of south

Lebanon. On Tuesday last week 73

israeli troops heading for the zone

were killed when the two helicopters : they were travelling in collided.

entirely pacified a population domi-nated by Uighurs, a predominantly Muslim Turkic people who claim to have handed the conquering armles of Alexander the Great their first defeat in the fourth century BC.

State-controlled Chinese television in an area long bedevilled by a volatile mix of Islam and Uighur na-tionalism reported on Monday that a "riot" had been quelled. It said "splittists" had used religion to stir up "misinformed masses", but gave

Yining, the epicentre of the eth-nic unrest, was the capital of a shortlived East Turkestan Republic half a century ago, and has become a major Central Asian crossroads following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Trade, guns, political ferment and Islam pour across what was once a tightly sealed border. A report in the Hong Kong news-

paper Ming Pao blamed the rioting on radical Islamic teenagers. But exiled Uighur activists with extensive

razaq om

Netanyahu bans talk of Lebanon pullout

Vetanyahu said.

This talk, during days of mourn-

ing and emotional upheaval, might encourage the terrorists in Lebanon

to step up their attacks on Israeli

oldiers," a spokesman for Mr

The prime minister calls on all members of parliament and public

officials to stop dealing at this time with the possibility of unlateral withdrawal from Lebanon."

He was reacting to an unprece

Israeli troops from the self-declared

security zone. The campaign is led by Gideon Ezra, a former deputy

contacts in the area deny Chinese claims of Islamic fundamentalism. "China has turned eastern

Turkestan into a timebomb," said Erkin Alptekin, an exiled Uighur whose late father is revered in parts of Xinjiang as a nationalist hero. "Instead of defusing tensions by listening to people, they are constantly looking for confrontation. The moment you open your mouth you are a splittist and a fundamentalist. China is very clever. It knows the West is scared of fundamentalism."

Ethnic Chinese account for about 6 million of a population of 16 million in what is nominally an autonomous region but in reality enjoys less autonomy than most ordinary provinces.

When Mao Zedong came to power in 1949, only 300,000 ethnic Chinese lived in Xinjiang. Most of the region's Uighur leaders perished in a mysterious plane crash on their way to Beijing to negotiate with Mao soon after the revolution.

XINJIANG

Uighur nationalists based former Soviet Central Asia claimed that the execution of three ethnic Uighurs sparked last week's riots. A spokesman for the United National Revolutionary Front of East Turkestan said the men were arrested early last year during a Chinese "anti-splittist" crackdown.

worker at a military base killed by a bomb in two attacks by the Basque separatist organisa-G ENERAL Alexander Korzhakov, Boris Yeltsin's former bodyguard, won a seat in the Russian parliament in the

Milosevic's battlefield shifts

OMilosevic bowed to street protests and international pressure ast week by issuing instructions for the government's surrender of power in cities won by the opposition in the local elections last November.

But having given ground on the control of city councils, the president is falling back on his next line of defence — the media — to buttress his regime. It is becoming the new battlefield in his struggle for political survival against an opposition

campaign of popular street protests.

Opposition leaders hailed the climbdown as a turning point in their battle of wits with the weakened Mr Milosevic, but vowed to continue the protests until they had access to the state-controlled media and until government officials were punished for vote-rigging.

Journalists at a privately owned station in Belgrade, BK television were trying to fight off a threat to close down their transmitters last week. Executives of the state broadcasting corporation, RTS, claimed that BK had not paid its broadcast-

ing fees.

The RTS executives arrived at BK's offices just hours before it was A member of the Peruvian forces feels the heat outside the Japanese announced that Mr Milosevic embassy in Lima where 72 hostages have been held since December would recognise the opposition's 17. Face-to-face talks between the rebels and the government were victories. A law to that effect was due to be held on Tuesday in a bid to end the siege PHOTO: SILVA ZOUIERDO

service and a leading member of

Israel's army and intelligence

communities strongly oppose any

talk of a unliateral withdrawal, be-

lieving it will endanger Israeli towns

Mr Ezra's decision to break ranks

is seen as a significant turning point

in the debate about Lebanon. He is

supported by another influential Likud MP, Michael Eltan, and Yossi

tinians and a cabinet minister in the

"We want a fresh look at the situa-

former Labour administration.

the ruling rightwing Likud party.

near the Lebanese border.

dented bipartisan proposal from 10

MPa for a unilateral withdrawal of Oslo peace accords with the Pales.

to be considered this week. The timing of the RTS visit was

not lost on BK's news editor, Srdjan Djuric. He denied that BK owed money to RTS, and argued that it was being picked on because i

broadcast coverage of the protests The pressure on BK, he said, was sign that President Milosovic had adopted a new tactic to retain his

monopoly of power. "I fear that when this whole election crisis is over, the time will come for a settling of accounts against all those he believes were not with him," Mr Djuric said. "What is certain is that he is going to fight for complete media control."

Control of municipal councils has strategic importance because confers control of local radio and elevision stations. Media control is likely to be crucial in this year's presdential and parliamentary elections.

near-monopoly of the media has been vividly demonstrated; for the first month of the protests, many rural Serbs were unaware of the turmoil in the cities. The battle is not limited to radio and television; the state-owned newsagent has nearly doubled its distribution charges,

to maintain media control

Julian Borger in Belgrade

CERBIA'S President Slobodan

The importance of the regime's

putting a financial squeeze on inde pendent newspapers and magazines

President's henchmen, page 8

Eitan said. "We want the defence es

We don't want them to avoid consid ering new options for fear someone will ask them why they didn't think of them before, or accuse them of being responsible for unnecessary

Mr Netanyahu and the Palestinian Authority president, Yasser Arafat, met at the Erez border crossing between Gaza and Israel last weekend. They agreed that joint controllitees would meet within a week to resolve issues outstanding after their recent agreement on Hebron, which led to 80 per cent of future military redeployments in the Clinton, has died aged 76. chief of the Shin Bet intelligence tion, untraminelled by the past," Mr West Bank.

▲ SIKH-HINDU coalition state of Punjab in the first free elections for a decade, routing the ruling Congress party.

RITISH au pair Louise Woodward, aged 18, is to be brought before a US court and charged with murder following the death of the nine-month-old baby she was caring for.

Hebron, which led to 80 per cent of the city switching to Palestinian control. They also discussed Israel's political godmother to Bill



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Algeria slides to 'total war'

David Hirst in Beirut

ITH horrific massacres in the countryside and dev-astating car bombs in the capital, Algeria came to the end of the bloodiest Ramadan since 1962, the height of the war of liberation against France.

Arab commentators warn that with the military-backed regime and the Islamist rebels locked into more absolutist positions than ever, the country seems to be sliding inexorably towards total war and total chaos, with implications for North Africa and Europe,

The barbarous conflict, which has already cost 60,000 lives, is turning into much more than a straight fight to the finish between the extremist tendencies within both camps - hardline generals known as "eradicators" on the one hand, fanatics of the Armed Islamic Groups (GIA) on the other - who dictate

There is increasingly the inter-play of three other violent conflicts: within the ruling élite Itself, within the Islamist insurrection, and, per-haps most dangerous, within broad segments of society caught up in tribal vendettas and vengeance.

Western intelligence believes 300 people a week have been killed during Ramadan. Rural massacres have grown more numerous and more

atrocious. The Medea district south | ing to establish a loyalist party of his of Algiers is the main killing ground.

Last week the authorities imposed a ban on traffic in Algiers, where car bombs have killed 70. Just before Ramadan, the prime minister, Ahmed Ouyahia, once

again announced that the government had finally crushed the terror. But the GIA leader, Antar Zouabri, vowed to make Ramadan the "month of a hundred bombs". He announced an uncompromising strategy, that of forcing the people to "choose their camp" — his or the regime's. "But for those who are with us", he said, "all the others are apostates and deserve to die." Thus the entire population, even children, became targets in this month of fasting, repentance and forgiveness.

He put the strategy into effect with a series of the deadliest car bombs in five years. In his embarrassment, President

Lamine Zeroual delivered a 20minute speech of unprecedented vehemence, pledging that "the state will fight the terror groups until their extermination".

As the main struggle continues unabated, the regime itself is failing prey to vicious internal conflicts, as it has always done when some major event is in the offing. A general election is due this year. In a move that has alarmed the

own, having formerly insisted he would remain above the political fray. It was to have been led by a trade union leader, Abdul-Haq Benhamouda. He was gunned down in Algiers recently - almost certainly y a faction within the regime.

These internal conflicts have weakened the regime's ability to profit from the far greater chaos within the Islamists' ranks. They are riven by increasingly murderous rivalries, with at least three main factions competing for control and

In Medea, the GIA is trying to ter-rorise the population into backing it, not only against the regime but against a local rival, the Islamic Front for Armed Jihad, the military wing of the mainstream Djazair tendency within the Islamist camp.

This has apparently prompted desperate local people to form their own self-defence patrols. An anti-Islamist newspaper called it a new phenomenon, the beginning of a spontaneous Intifada against the terror.

But it is not new. The regime itself first encouraged the formation of popular militias, so-called "patriots", now numbering some 200,000 men. They are now the main reason why the civil war is slipping out of the hands of the "official" protagonists. The patriots are a law unto



A reveller dressed as a witch uses her broom to vault over a bonfin during traditional Fasnacht (carnival) celebrations last weekend in the German town of Waldkirch

Owen Bennett Jones in Geneva

CWITZERLAND'S three largest that the money had already been de-posited at the Swiss National Bank.

Senior Swiss bankers have be

The banks - Credit Suisse, the Union Bank of Switzerland - said the fund would be open to contributions from others "including the Swiss National Bank and the Swiss

But the banks decided that they could not wait that long. The New York city administration recently threatened to exclude Swiss banks from doing business with the city. And draft legislation in New York state would oblige foreign banks to disclose the value of assets linked to Britain has begun a fresh investi-gation into gold looted by the Nazis, including personal belongings stolen from Jews, the Foreign Office said last week. The inquiry should be completed next month.

The move follows an agreement by the wartime allies, confirmed last week, to freeze about \$67 million-worth of gold looted by Germany to see whether it can be disributed to Holocaust survivors.

The gold has been held in special

after the war as compensation for the damage to Russian culture Troy, discovered by a 19th century Nazis, particularly central European caused by the Nazi invasion.

The law, a slightly modified ver-sion of a bill rejected by the upper house last year, can be vetoed by President Boris Yeltsin. But, without the Duma's approval, he is unlikely to take any action to return

ment, the Duma, declared in a law passed last week. In a move calculated to infuriate Germany and the other European countries from which the "trophy art" was taken, deputies voted by 291 to one to designate all cultural

archaeologist, Helnrich Schliemann, all previously believed lost. Special Soviet art squads followed

the Red Army, combing the ruins of the Reich and sending treasure home by the wagonload. Germany now says Russia is going back on earlier promises to return

The Russian claim that the art is the booty - 200,000 items in all. Despite international sympathy compensation is a recent one. For almost 50 years the paintings were for the wounds inflicted on the kept secret. Russia admitted the ex-USSR during the war, there is conistence of the hoard in the early cern that the Duma, dominated by patriots and nostalgic communists, is so obsessed with the idea of 1990s and only in the past five years have exhibitions in St Petersburg and Moscow revealed paintings by Matisse, Cézanne, Van Gogh, Goya, ignores the suffering of other Euro-

Among the pictures exhibited at

the Pushkin museum in 1995 were eight belonging to a Hungarian Jew-ish refugee, Baron Lajos Hatvany-Deutsch, whose collection was plundered by one of Adolf Eichmann's Nazi teams. The Hungarian government says It fails to understand why Hungarian Jews should compensate Russia for the Nazi vasion of the USSR.

A gesture early on in Mr Yeltsin's first presidency, when he returned two pictures to Budapest, provoked Soviet citizens as war victims that it | patriotic outrage at home, But he recently sent the Hungarian presi-

dent, Arpad Goncz, a message saying he wanted the issue settled.

Signalling government anger with parliament, the Russian deputy culture minister, Mikhail Shvydkoi said last week that the law could rebound badly on Russia abroad. "I have serious doubts about this law," he said. "The Duma has gone ahead and passed it virtually in its original format, regardless of our sugges-tions as to how it could be im-

The law makes no distinction etween artworks taken from muse ms and private collectors, although t does say that items of personal value, such as letters, may be handed back to relatives on "humanitarian grounds". Governments may apply for the return of artworks taken "illegally" by Soviet forces, al-

Swiss banks set up fund for Jewish victims

and Denis Staunton in Berlin

RICELESS works of Euro-

Soviet troops at the end of the sec-

and world war are now Russian

property and will be returned only

n exceptional circumstances, the

lower house of the Russian parlia-

pean and Asian art secretly

plundered from Germany by

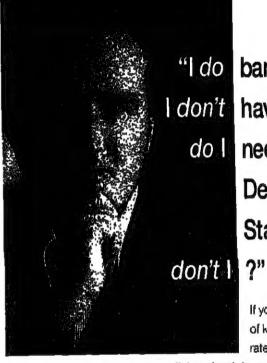
Obanks last week created a \$72 million humanitarian fund for Holo caust victims. An official statement from the banks said that the time had come for "action, not words" and

come frustrated by their govern-ment's failure to deflect international criticism of Switzerland's wartime conduct. The Workl Jewish Congress accuses Switzerland of sitting on Jewish wartime assets worth billions of pounds.

Swiss Bank Corporation, and the government".

But while the government was quick to welcome the banks' move as being "in accordance with govern ment policy", it refused to be drawn on whether or not it will contribute A government spokesman, Roland Bless, said that the independent commission investigating Switzerland's wartime role is due to make an interim report this summer. "Only then will we decide whether to conribute or not," he said.

accounts under the control of a Tripartite Commission run by Britain. the US and France. The three powers have agreed not to distribute the gold to wartime occupied countries, in-cluding France, the Czech Republic, Slovakia and the states of former Yugoslavia, to which it is officially owed.



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Standard & Chartered

Poll results cow Bhutto

Suzanne Goldenberg in Islamabad

BENAZIR BHUTTO, in dis-grace after her party's dismal election performance, last week withdrew her threat to protest at polls which she claimed were rigged against her.

The results gave her rival Nawaz Sharif's Pakistan Muslim League a resounding victory la last week's election, with more than 130 seats in the 217-sent national assembly. It was the most convincing electoral victory since Ms Bhutto's father, Zulfigar Ali Blautto, swept the

polls more than 25 years ago. The Bhutto family's Pakistan People's Party was reduced to a humiliating 19 seats. The Mohajir Quami Movement, representing the descendants of those who migrated from India at independence, had around 12 seats. Imran Khan, the cricketer turned anti-corruption crusader, was clean bowled for failed to win a single seat.

The turnout, according to

dismissal in November by President Faroog Leghari on disputed

and 40 per cent of the 56.5 mil-

lion eligible voters.

Ma Bhutto accused the government of manipulating the voters' lists to deny her victory, after her charges of mismanagement and corruption. But she said she would not carry out her threat of

a national protest campaign. Her PPP has effectively been reduced to a regional party in her native Sindh province, and its followers have little spirit for a fight. "The results were engineered. Despite the fact that we question the legitimacy of the electoral process we need

stability," Ms Bhutto said. Although Mr Sharif no longer has to contend with an immediate confrontation with Ms Bhutto, he faces the unenviable task of injecting stability in a country that has seen the dismissal of four elected governments since 1988. He was himself dismissed in

Turkey plans anti-PKK buffer zone

Owen Bowcott

URKEY is considering evacuating a strip of land along its southeastern frontier to prevent terrorist incursions, according to documents obtained in the capital,

The 10km-wide buffer zone should be cleared of small centres of population which support Kurdish fighters and declared a "prohibited region", Turkey's national security council has been told.

The documents, passed to the Kurdish language satellite station Med-TV in London, are understood to form a report, entitled Proposals For Solutions, submitted to the national security council at its meeting on January 27. The papers also advocate "covert and overt" actions against Hadep, the main Kurdish political party within Turkey, and suggest that Med-TV broadcasts should be "obstructed and sup-

Running to more than 30 pages, the report appears to provide a destresses the need for a spirit of and covert and persistent pressure should be placed on Hadep by of trust".

A senior government information officer in Ankara said last weekend: These ideas are regularly taken up by the national security council at its meetings. There have been suggestions about a neutral zone or security belt. But we don't have much problem inside Turkish territory; the problems are outside."

The report to the national security council also said there should be a "psycho-social" campaign to end the war against the PKK (the Kurdistan Workers' Party), which has fought for an independent Kurdish homeland in eastern Turkey since the mid-1980s.

On scaling off the border from PKK attacks, the report says, "the existence of small centres of population on the borders" eases the passage of terrorists and the provision of logistic support by collaborators in these centres. "For this reason, a border strip should be evacuated and buffer zones formed."

the report warns that Haden military thinking on a broad range of anti-terrorist measures. It with the aim of "pacifying" it. "Overt Le Monde, page 18

means of the state, civilian community organisation and universities.

Chris Nuttull in Ankara adds. Tanks rumbling through an Ankara suburb and a censure motion tabled in parliament could be signalling the end of the first Islamist-led government in the 74-year history of the Turkish republic. The secular establishment

striking back at the increasingly bold attempts of the prime minister Necmettin Erbakan's Welfare Party to reintroduce religion in affairs of

The opposition Democratic Left Party (DSP) announced last week that it had submitted a censure motion to the Speaker of parliament. And on Tuesday the military staged a show of force in Sincan, outside Ankara, scuding 35 tanks and armoured personnel carriers through the streets of the Weifare-controlled municipality. Its mayor went into hiding after a warrant was issued for his arrest for organising a radical

St Helena's citizens long for distant home

Angela Wigglesworth

NOT SO much the jewel in the crown as a forgotten speck in the south Atlantic, the far-flung island of St Helena has issued an angry protest to Britain about discrimination, compared with wealth-ler fellow-colonials in Hong Kong.

Napoleon spent his dying days here after Waterloo, and some of today's 5,800 inhabitants are also having some negative home

Secretary, Malcolm Rifkind, com-plaining that they are unjustly being had been abiding and borne within denied full British citizenship.

land's legislative council.

St Helenians are of mixed ethnic and Madagascar.

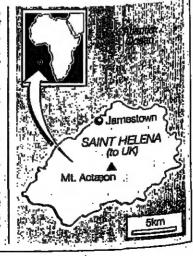
the realme of England". But succes-"St Helenians have had no nation- sive acts of parliament eroded their ality other than British from the rights and the 1981 British Nationaltime Britain first settled the island | ity Act gave them British dependent in 1659," says a letter from the is- | territory citizenship, with the loss of

full British citizenship. St Helenians are of mixed ethnic origin, descended from settlers sent of betrayal. But 50,000 Chinese and by the East India Company from their dependants have been given Britain, South Asia, the East Indies | British citizenship there and last week the Home Office relented and Their claim goes back to 1673 extended this to 8,000 Asians who thoughts from abroad, for their government has petitioned the Foreign tives" and future generations should mer's handover to China.

But in the south Atlantic, an aggrieved Basil George, chairman of the local citizenship commission, insisted that the people of St Helena have always remained loyal to their distant ruler.

"Why should St Helenians be denied the right to full British citizenship when this has been granted not only to Chinese nationals and Asians in Hong Kong, but also to the people of the Falklands and Gibraltar, which are also dependent?" he said.

Officials at the Foreign Office in London said Mr Rifkind would be responding to the petition shortly, though he is unlikely to have any





The US this week

Martin Walker

RESIDENT Clinton used his annual State of the Union address to clearly the Communication of the Union address to clearly the Communication of the Union address to clearly the Union address the Uni dress to challenge Congress to enact a bipartisan bill to reform the scandalous campaign finance system. He called on both parties to enact the new law by July 4 -- Independence Day --- with an emotional appeal to renew the public's shaken

faith in American democracy. Draped in the language of politi-cal common ground, Clinton wants to persuade the public that an agreement to control the abuse of political fund-raising is the litmus test of the bipartisanship which the opinion polls say the voters want, and to which all politicians are currently paying lip-service.

Not only would this deflect attention from the president's own embarrassments in huckstering White House hospitality to big donors, it also undermines the Republican strategy to make a constitutional amendment to enforce a balanced oudget the test of bipartisanship.

The entire chamber rose in standing ovation when he called, in the usual bland terms, for campaign finance reform in general. Then he asked them to pass the particular bill already offered by Senator Russ Feingold, a Democrat from Wisconsin, and Senator John McCain, a Republican from Arizona.

The air is unusually thick in Washington with pieties about both parties working together, the new vital centre and all the usual hypocrisies politicians spout when they fear the voters are in a mood to gang up on them. The Republicans are almost frantic in their attempts to match the president's bipartisan rhetoric. Speaker Newt Gingrich announced that he wanted to help Clinton enlarge both Nato and the North Atlantic Free Trade Area, and to pay off American arrears to the United Nations, Senator Trent Lott, the Republican leader in the upper house, invited the president to lunch "to sit down and see what we can really do to move some things forward for the American people".

Then it was back to business as usual. Clinton's budget offered \$98 billion in tax cuts, in a total budget of \$1.7 trillion, which is claimed will achieve a modest surplus by 2002. If successful, it would be the first balanced federal budget since President Lyndon Johnson's last one, for fiscal year 1969. Fulfilling his campaign pledge to give all American families a \$500-per-child tax cut, the classroom door," he told Congress, Clinton plan also includes tax relief for college education, a measure which the Republicans will find it | dency to demand that Congress politically dangerous to oppose.

expected to suffer directly from Clinton's cuts is Vice-President Al Gore. Most of the cuts to reach a balanced budget come during election campaign in 2000 and the first year of what is supposed to be the Gore administration.

It is all rather notional. The budget deficit this year is down to just over \$100 billion, rather than the \$270 billion Clinton inherited four years ago. This is partly because taxes were raised and spending modestly cut in President Bush's 1990 budget, and because taxes were raised again in the Clinton budget of 1993. But the deficit is lower mainly because of the spirited and accelerating economic recovery of the past six years, which has cut welfare and unemployment costs and sharply raised tax revenues. When the boom stops - and it seems to be slowing - the budget deficit will start to rise again. Although there was not a vast

amount of difference between this budget and the one Clinton sent up a year ago, to Republican jeers, they did not pronounce this one "dead on arrival". They suggested gently that it might not go quite far enough for their taste, but it was quite enough to work with. Clinton is relying on \$100 billion from savings in Medicare (for the elderly) over five years, and another \$22 billion from Medicaid (for the poor). The savings come not from the customers, but from the providers the hospitals and doctors. He seeks to raise \$76 billion in new taxes on businesses and airline tickets, \$47 billion from new user fees for federal services, and expects to raise \$36 billion from auctioning broadcasting licences. Then he pledged to spend \$50 billion more

Fresh from this declaration of "a national crusade for education" in his State of the Union address, Clinton went to Georgia last week to campaign for his plan to make higher education available to all American school-leavers. The keystone of his 10-point plan of education reform, the college-for-all proposal, has begun to catch the public imagination.

Education reform was the constant theme of Clinton's re-election campaign last year, and is given the highest priority in opinion polls, sharply above crime, jobs and the economy. Unlike his predecessor George Bush, who simply talked of being 'the education president', Clinton has made the theme his own. Indeed, he did much the same in Arkansas, in his second term as Claus of American politics, the issue no other politician dared challenge.

Clinton remains rightly praised in Arkansas for his school reforms, but in Washington this is a triumph of marketing over reality, since the than 10 per cent of an education the individual states.

national security issues of the future, and politics must stop at the | keep on learning." and repeated the line in Georgia, using the bully pulpit of his presivote the funds to finance his plans.



for the new Hope scholarships plan — Helping Outstanding Pupils' Education. It uses the proceeds of a state lottery to finance two years of a student's local college tultion fees so long as he or she maintains a B average in course results. Clinton now proposes to extend this throughout the country, but there is no national lottery, so he must deploy a complex mix of tax credits and tax-free savings bonds.

Apart from offering two years of 31,500 tax credits for a student to attend a local community college, Clinton is also promising the American middle class the biggest cash bonanza of modern times, a tax deduction of up to \$10,000 a year for college fees. This will be available to all parents who would have sent their children to college anyway, and the subsidy to the middle class to allow their children to get the middle-class status symbol of a college degree will cost the taxpayer at

HE OTHER main features of the Clinton education plan includes national classroom chievement standards, criticised Republicans as a back door way of introducing a national curriculum, Internet connections for classrooms and hospitals, a national and more school choice.

"My number one priority for the next four years is to ensure that Americans have the best education in the world," Clinton told Congress. "Let's work together to meet federal government commands less | these goals: every eight-year-old must be able to read; every 12-yearbudget that is largely controlled by old must be able to log on to the Internet; every 18-year-old must be "Education is one of the critical able to go to college; and every adult American must be able to

> Clinton asked the Republican Congress to help him complete "unfinished business" in the reforms of welfare, education and children's health. Still itching at the humiliat

velop a national health system, the | Clinton on its main channel and president offered a new initiative to guarantee health care to the 10 million children who are not insured. He announced a diluted form of the plan already tabled by Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts, in which uninsured children would be given health care vouchers worth \$5 billion a year.

These are fairly modest goals in domestic policy for a president cmbarking on a second term, with his eyes fixed on his place in history. The far more ambitious foreign policy plans — to bring the cold war's eastern European orphans into Nato, and to cajole China into a stable new security system for the Asia-Pacific region - were quickly glossed over,

The State of the Union address is after all, a fundamentally domestic event, an annual ritual in which the president sets out his political agenda for the year before both Houses of Congress, and one of the few occasions outside an election when he can be guaranteed an hour to himself of prime-time TV. At least, he should be so guaranteed. but that almost went wrong.

For the world's most self-indulgent and media-saturated culture faced the ultimate dilemma: did American viewers and their TV netmme to help all | works stay with the president's anrealise that education was the Santa | children read by the age of eight, | nual State of the Union address or did they drop the boring politician and shift to the O J Simpson verdict? The word came from the Santa Monica courtroom that the jury would deliver its verdict at 6pm California time, which just happened to be 9pm Washington time, when the president was due to rise to address Congress.

"You may be wondering what we're going to do at that point," NBC anchor Tom Brokaw said just before 9pm. "We're wondering that as well."

NBC solved it by keeping its cable news channel, MS-NBC, locked on to O J while the network stayed with Clinton. CNN had a sim-Besides the poor, the only person | Georgia is the source of inspiration | ing defeat of his wife's attempt to de- | ilar schizoid solution, sticking with |

effect on their ratings, did the hor ourable thing, and stuck with the president, while a written text or O J ran across the bottom of the screens like subtitles on a foreign

N THE END, the networks wer spared too much agony. It took so long for the Judge, Simpson and the families of the murder victims to get to the courtroom through th crowds and police barriers that the verdict was finally announced more than an hour later than expected.

Clinton was well into the last few paragraphs of his address when the irst unanimous verdict emerged from the Santa Monica courtroom been allowed: O J Simpson had been found liable for the deaths of his ex-wife Nicole and her friend, Ronald Goldman.

"It was choreographed politics versus unpredictable courtroom drama, a perfect example of the dichotomy between what America vants to be and what, perhaps, it is." noted one AP commentator.

Actually, what much America wants to be is among the audience at the Ms United States beauty after the president's speech, thanks to urgent White House pleas to shift the event so that the curvaceous young women in swimsuits would not steal the president's big moment. But he had not taken O J into The ultimate irony came on the

cable TV system in Washington DC, through which the political junkies of the nation's capital get their CNN news, and their live coverage of polltical events on C-Span. Just as Clinton was hailing "the thrilling challenge of the Internet and the new technology", the old technology collapsed, and Washington's TV screens went dark.

Martin Woollacott, page 15

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 16 1997

FOCUS ON TAJIKISTAN 7

Peace lies in hands of brutal warlords

date expires next month, but both

sides know that, without progress.

Mr Merrem might call their bluff.

Other signs bode ill. The war

masks lucrative illegal trading and

drug-running, and offers opportuni-

ties to loot, rob and hoard. Peace

would curtail such profiteering, Par-

liament's hatred of the Islamists

may impel the government to dodge

the spirit of its Moscow promises to

placate its own supporters.

A Special Correspondent

HEN he's drunk, Said Rahimov oozes savagery. His militia unit is nominally part of Tajikistan's interior ministry, but he curses his commanders. Beyond their distant authority, he becomes one of six petty warlords who rule the road to Garm.

His harsh fiefdom — a village, a bridge and some orchards carved from a mile of the stony grey Karategin valley - lies astride the only passable road linking eastern Tajikistan with Dushanbe, the capital of this poor, mountainous republic on the southern fringe of former Soviet Central Asia.

Mr Rahimov scorns human rights and the rules of war. In his domain, robbery, torture and murder pass unrecognised as crimes. His defeated young soldiers are shellshocked, ragged and hungry. Their comrades were killed in December's Islamic opposition onslaught and now their company, which should comprise 100 men, has just

Without reserves, desperate government forces resort to pressganging youths on Dushanbe's streets. Conscripts face months of combat stress, their nerves fray and discipline breaks down. Some soak n stolen vodka, others raid villages to feed themselves. Ill-timed intrusions into this volatile realm can explode into chaos in seconds.

Shortly after last December's ceasefire, as a United Nations peacekeeping convoy passed Mr Rahimov's Saripul checkpost, its leading Land Rovers radioed a culm "so problem" to the rearguard. Moments later Mr Rahimov, irrational, drunk and snarling with incoherent rage, forced the last four UN sol-diers from their vehicles, lined them up beside a telegraph pole. Ranting, gesticulating and machine-gunning wildly, he decided to execute them. Less than a mile away, their col-

leagues heard nothing.

The government will not discipline Mr Rahlmov for his misdeeds. Never sure of the loyalties of its troops, it cannot move units to the Karategin front line for fear of upsetting the delicate political-military balance contrived to appease mutually hostile regional factions. The valley has four separate government command structures, and each unit guards its independence fiercely.

Mr Rahimov is not the worst of ajikistan's warlords — others play for higher stakes. One sent tanks 10km to oust a rival; a fellow government supporter. Another casually looted a British-owned gold mine, one of Tajikistan's few sources of wealth. And last week, a third resumed hostage-taking. which in December bought his fighters free passage from neighbouring Afghanistan.

Men like these will make or break the fragile peace accord signed in Moscow last December by resident Imomali Rakhmonov and the Islamic opposition leader Said Abdullo Nuti. Unlike earlier agreements, this latest pact holds some promise of a lasting settlement.

Uncharacteristically, most comnanders have respected the ceaseire, or what passes for a ceasefire in Tajikistan --- a few small bombs, a couple of shootings, some settling of personal scores and last week's spate of hostage-taking. A delicate peace reigns across the country.

Russia and Iran, the most interested regional powers, remain sup-

portive. So does the guardedly optimistic UN mediator, Gerd Dietrich Merrem, who, free of career constraints on his final posting, has diers know that although the played rough to get the antagonists this far. Few believe UN threats to blighted rural economy cannot yet support them, fighting can. So far both the government and pull out when its peacekeeping man-

the Islamic opposition have largely ignored the secular opposition strong in the isolated, but peaceful and economically important north.

This year will be a watershed. For the first time in five years, Tajiks have a slim but realistic chance of

negotiating lasting peace. Talks will resume in Moscow at the end of the If the proposed National Recon-ciliation Commission can be made

Historic inter-regional enmity, to work, fair elections under a new inflamed by recent atrocities, will constitution could follow. But the disarmament of the factions will be the ultimate guarantee of peace. Meanwhile in Saripul, Mr Rahi-

mov spared his UN peacekeepers when, instead, his men loosed frenzied cannon and Kalashnikov fire at an approaching Jeep, which froze for 15 eternal seconds unscathed amid the inferno, then finally fled. But Mr Rahimov and his men. aboard a hijacked UN vehicle, tracked the Jeep to the village. There, in a hail of bullets, they euphorically destroyed it. No one knew who was inside.

 Tajikistan's president held talks last weekend to resolve the coun-

try's hostage crisis, but a senior offi-cial said no agreement had been eached to free the 15 captives.

But the presidential spokesman, Zafar Saidov, said progress had been made in the meeting between President Rakhmonov and a warord controlling parts of northern Afghanistan, where Tajikistan's Isamic opposition take refuge.

Among the hostages held by the group of opposition rebels are four United Nations military observers captured on Tuesday last week, four Russian reporters and four aid vorkers, who were captured later.

The Tajik security minister, Saidamir Zukharov, was also cap-tured last weekend while negotiating with the rebels,

The group is demanding free passage for their comrades to return home from Afghanistan. - Reuter

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BRISTOL & WEST



YOUR HOME IS AT RISK IF YOU DO NOT KEEF UP REPAYMENTS ON A MORYGAGE OR OTHER LOAN SECURED ON IT.

once unquestioned power bleeds away and erstwhile allies turn into potential prosecution witnesses, the day is drawing closer when the Serbian president could stand before the war crimes tribunal in The Hague charged with responsibility for the worst atrocities in Europe since the Holocaust.

In interviews with the Guardian a former paramilitary commander, a sacked police chief, and a senior member of Milosevic's leftwing coalition have described how a small group of Serbian secret policemen under Milosevic's direct control co-ordinated a covert dirty war by arming thousands of convicts and sending them to fight in Croatia and Bosnia, From April 1991 until the end of the war in late 1995, these paramilitary groups, such as the Serbian Chetnik Movement and Arkan's Tigers, carried out a murderous campaign of ethnic cleansing and looting across a large swath of the former Yugoslavia. Pulling the strings from the shadows was a small group of men from the state security department of the Serbian interior ministry, appointed by Milosevic and totally loyal to him. Within the ministry, they were known as the *vojna linija* (military line).

This new evidence of a parallel chain of command is crucial to any future indictment against Milosevic, who also appears to have lost the diplomatic protection he enjoyed when the West viewed him as a guarantor of peace in Bosnia. He is now seen more as a source of instability. It is no longer inconceivable that The Hague could issue an indictment against Milosevic, making him the world's highest-ranking war crimes defendant since Hermann Goering stood in the dock at Nuremberg.

Witnesses name three key figures in the *vojna linija* responsible for arming and training paramili-taries — Radovan "Badza" Stojicic, Franko "Frenki" Simatovic, and Mihalj Kertes. They worked for Jovica Stanisic, the head of Milosevic's secret police. Kertes was Serb diaspora", providing him with a pretext for constant travel in Croatia and Bosnia. All these men now | Tara, near Bajina Basta, but says the | himself Marko Paylovic

S SLOBODAN Milosevic's | hold powerful positions in the Milosevic regime. One key source, Branislav Vakic, first met Badza in May 1991, in the eastern Slavonia region of Croatia. Vakic, a former boxing champion from Serbia's second city of Nis, was determined to fight for his kin at a time when Yugoslavia was imploding and skirmishes were breaking out between Serbs and Croats. Vakic came with a band of adventurers and freed convicts calling themselves the Serbian Chetnik Movement under the lead-

> fessor called Vojislav Seselj. When the Chetniks slouched into eastern Slovenia, many were carrying only hunting rifles. Badza soon put that right. "MUP [the interior ministry] started to help the Chetniks in May," says Vakic. "The MUP forces at that time were under Radovan Stojicic - Badza. We just got weapons from them then. But we started to act together in January 1993, in Skelani and towards Srebrenica.

ership of a bespectacled history pro-

By the time the Chetniks moved on to Bosnia, Vakic was in charge of 6,000 men. Badza moved into Bosnia at the same time. His influence is clear from some photographs Vakic proudly displays in his offices in Nis. A picture from 1991 shows him and a handful of fellow Chetniks brandishing a few 1940s Thompson machine-guns. Two years later, in a snap taken near Srebrenica, Vakic is posing with a sophisticated sniper rifle. "We got uniforms from MUP, and the weapons we wanted: infantry weapons, machine-guns, sniper

rifles . . . and mortars," he recalls. In early 1992, Vakic says his men were trained at a military base near Belgrade, called Bubanj Potok. Later in 1992 and 1993, his Chetniks were moved down to a new base at Bajina Basta (on the Bosnian border) where they met "Frenki" Simatovic, who ran an interior ministry special forces unit known as the 'red berets". Frenki not only trained Vakic's men, he accompanied them in forays against Muslims as the war

In August 1993, Vakic sent 300 of his men for further training in a Serbian interior ministry on Mount

broke down soon afterwards when they tried to make Vakic and his troops leave the Radical Party. The red berets, Vakic says, were loyal only to Milosevic and his Serbian Socialist Party. Seselj, Vakic's boss in the Chet-

niks and the Radical Party, has also told journalists how his men fought alongside the red berets, mentioning not only Frenki but also Mihali Kertes as their commanders. Kertes is also named as a red berets commander by another Serb warlord, Dragoslav Bokan, now in jail for armed robbery. While Frenki took over as the Chetniks' handler in eastern Bosnia, Badza linked up with Zeljko "Arkan" Raznjatovic and his notorious Tiger militia. Marko Nicovic, a former Belgrade police chief, says that Badza formed a "special relationship with Arkan in eastern Slovenia". From that moment on, he adds, Arkan, a former bank robber with a long criminal record, became untouchable.

Arkan's case was not exceptional. according to Nicovic, the doors of Serbia's prisons were thrown open in 1991, and "thousands" of convicts were released so they could fight in paramilitary groups such as the Chetniks and the Tigers. "The convicts were told, 'if you go to the front line, we will cut your sentence'. They thought 'maybe I can make some money there'. They went across the border. For a professional policeman it was a bit strange," says Nicovic. "In using criminals, for example, as informants, there is always a narrow line you walk along. The police here crossed that line by a mile."

At the time Nicovic was a highly decorated senior police officer and Badza was a uniformed patrolman. But after Milosevic came to power in 1987, and Stanisic rose with him to the head of Serbian state security, Badza was co-opted and sent away "for work in Croatia and Bosnia". When Badza next resurfaced in Belgrade, in 1992, he was made head of

erbia's uniformed police. Below Badza, Frenki and Kertes, there was a network of state security agents who co-ordinated the process of ethnic cleansing. At the ery start of the Bosnian war in April 1992, paramilitary groups crossed from Serbia into the border own of Zvornik and carried out a series of massacres of Muslims. The killers' transport and co-ordination was organised by a man calling

countable to Milosevic. Borisav Jovic, chairman of the Yugoslav collective presidency when the war started and Milosevic's former right-hand man, makes it clear that the interior ministry was the sole responsibility of to do with state security is the responsibility of the president of the republic, objectively and on the grounds of the constitution."

trating the ethnic cleansing

campaign has great legal signifi-

cance. Milosevic can theoretically

disown operations carried out under

the command of the Yugoslav Na-

tional Army, a federal body, while

Milosevic was "merely" the presi-

dent of one of Yugoslavia's con-

Yugoslavia's collective presidency

were little more than Milosevic's

puppets, the president had no con-

But unlike officers in the Yugoslav

National Army, the policemen in the

vojna linija - as employees of the

Serbian republic - were directly

appointed and constitutionally ac-

titutional authority over the army.

Although most members of

stituent republics, Serbia.

In the course of an interview, lovic (probably with one eye on the Hague) emphatically distances himself from the Serbian interior ministry's wartime activities. "If anything like you describe existed, it had nothing to do with me, nor

was I consulted about that." The chain of command running from the vojna linija to Milosevic is clear. Not only did the president fail to discipline his men after the revelation of atrocities carried out in areas under their control, he promoted them. Stanisic, as the head of of political defeat this year, he has to the state security service, is widely contemplate the humillating transiregarded by diplomats as the sec- tion from Serbia's chief executive to

goslavia. Frenki remains his deputy Badza was made a general last year. Kertes is now director of Customs, a lucrative position with great pow ers of patronage.

the power behind Milosevic's throne - the sinews of power be neath a skin-deep façade of misters. They now represent the only prop keeping Milosevic in power. But as his regime begins to crack under the pressure of street protests and international condennation, this prop is starting to webble. His henchmen are losing confidence in his judgment and wondering aloud whether their own best interests do not lie in striking a separate deal with the UN war

under the direct command of the Serbian government.

Another potential witness for the prosecution, Nikola Koljevic, died in a Belgrade hospital last month after apparently shooting himself in the head. As the Bosnian Serb vicecopious notes of all discussions wit Milosevic. Other Bosnian Serb leaders indicted by The Hague tribunal have privately let it be known that if caught they would testify they were carrying out Milosevic's instructions.

Even Milosevic's spymaster, Stanisic, has intimated through friends and colleagues that he has tried to persuade the president to compromise with the opposition. and has expressed his concern at the growing hardline influence of Milosevic's wife, Mirjana Markovic.

As the cohesion of the inner circle ond most powerful man in Yu- the world's most wanted fugitive.

Guardian victory in landmark libel case

HIGH Court jury's decision to throw out a Police Federation-backed libel action by five Metropolitan Police officers | which has systematically tried to against the Guardian was hailed last shut down legitimate reporting in an important area of public life. I

facing costs of more than £500,000. in addition to paying a substantial part of the newspaper's costs. It is the organisation's first defeat in 96

The five officers - Reynold Bennett, Bernard Gillan, Paul Goscomb, Gerald Mapp and Robert Watton had claimed that two articles published in the Guardian on January 31, 1992 suggested they were involved in planting and dealing drugs. This meaning was denied by

The newspaper's crime correspondent, Duncan Campbell, re-

David Ward

tunistic action by a trade union think the jury recognised that and they saw for themselves that Duncan Campbell is a fine, decent

"It's a good day for the press, I would be an even better day if the libel law were changed to give better protection to smaller papers who have been forced to cave in when threatened with the huge costs of ighting an action." Mr Campbell said the verdict was

an important one for journalists who want to honestly report investigations into alleged corruption.

The editor of the London Evening Standard, Max Hastings, whose wit-

Deputy general secretary of the National Union of Journalists, Jacob Ecclestone, said the verdict would encourage others to "stand up to the deration bullies".

firm Stephens Innocent, said: "This decision will hopefully embolden newspapers which have effectively self-censored their reporting." A High Court jury took five and

an half hours to reach a majority verdict in favour of the Guardian after a trial lasting more than two In court the Guardian strenu

ously denied that the allegation detailed in the articles identified the five plaintiffs to anyone outside a small circle of relatives and colleagues, implied guilt or pre-judged an anti-corruption investigation

Defending the newspaper, George Carman, QC, told the jury the officers' action was strained and contrived and a wholly unjustified attempt to gain damages. For the officers, Tom Shields, QC, had argued that the articles stigmatised

the five officers. In the course of the trial, the court was told by retired deputy as-One the country's leading libel sistant commissioner Michael Tavawyers, Mark Stephens, of London lor that, if they proved true, the allegations had the makings of a major police scandal, while the chairman of the Police Complaints

> firmed that the allegations were extremely serious.

Authority, Peter Moorhouse, con-

evidence from Mr Rusbridger and Mr Hastings, Mr Justice French ruled that significant sections of statements made by other defence witnesses were inadmissible.

In the past 33 months, the Police Federation has fought and won 95 defamation actions, netting £1,567,000. The Metropolitan Police paid out £500,000 between January 1992 and the end of 1996 in civil ac tion settlements for claims of malicious prosecution and false arrest to people arrested by officers from Stoke Newington.

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The verdict was greeted with disappointment by Fred Broughton, chairman of the Police Federation "We are surprised that the jury did not share our view of the meaning of the article," he said.

10%

As well as ruling against hearing | Half-free press. page 14

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problems with her boyfriend and For immediate cover call anytime day or night sexual abuse she had suffered in her childhood, but she denied this. 44 (0) 1323 432002 She told the tribunal she had ap-

and ask for extension 6859



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anti-corruption operation headed by | the British press as a whole and that | we should all be grateful to the a senior officer was under way. The Guardian's editor, Alan Rus-Guardian for taking the enormous bridger said: "This was an opporrisks of fighting it against all the

The verdict leaves the federation and honest reporter.

ported that eight unnamed officers had been transferred from Stoke

A FORMER Wren who tried to kill herself after enduring four

years of sexual harassment in the

Royal Navy last week won her claim

for compensation from the Ministry

Lesley Morris, aged 23, said she

was "chuffed to pieces" after an in-

dustrial tribunal in Manchester

ruled that she had been construc-

tively dismissed and awarded her

Elaine Donnelly, chairing the

panel, said: "I state for the record

that this award should be seen as a

message to all senior officers in the

navy that it is unacceptable for such

Ms Morris, from Shotton, near

Chester, told the hearing she had

been overjoyed when she joined the

service at 17, but became depressed

She told the hearing she took a

paracetamol overdose and was dis-

charged from the navy as "tempera-

mentally unsuitable" in 1995. "It

broke my heart to leave the navy,"

she said. "It was all I ever wanted to

do but I was terrified of going back

harassment to be tolerated."

because of sexual harassment.

ness evidence was ruled inadmissible by the trial judge, Mr Justice Newington police station in north- French, said: "I passionately believe Wren's sex harassment case upheld

> age Wrens to report incidents of sexual harassment.

"There are still a lot of poor girls in the navy going through exactly the same as I did," she said. "There is no legal aid for these cases and it has cost me an awful lot of money. think that puts other girls off, so tope that his changed."

Ms Morris wept as she told the tribunal how a former sailor who now works in the same factory as she does had insulted her when he discovered she was a Wren.

The tribunal was told by consultant psychiatrist David Enoch that Ms Morris had suffered a "Chinese torture" of humiliation.

"The constant sexual barassment Lesley Morris: 'chuffed to and bullying were a massive precipipieces' by the harassment ruling tant in her depression," he said. "In my view it will take a long time for it with this and carried on. It has been to fade and will be a source of hell but I'm glad I've been able to vulnerability for the rest of her life." put my story across and say what The MoD had suggested Ms

nappeacd to me. "I don't think the navy has Morris's depression was caused by changed much since I left. The top plied for a job in the police last year

Ms Morris, who works in a factory earning £145 a week, added

dogs are bringing in policies and they are trying to solve the problem, but to be honest . . . things are not going to change."

After the decision she said: "I'm that she hoped the publicity sur-

Widow wins fight to have dead man's baby

IANE BLOOD, the widow who has battled for nearly two years to have her dead sband's baby, could be artificially inseminated with his sperm in a Belgian clinic next month after winning a landmark court victory last week.

The Human Fertilisation and Embryology Authority had banned her from using sperm taken from her husband, tephen, in March 1995 when he lay dying in a coma because

he had not given written consent The HFEA could still maintain ts ban. But the Court of Appeal udgment makes a go-shead drtually certain.

Mrs Blood, aged 32, halled

the ruling as "a victory for common sense and justice"

European Community law, which gives the citizens of EC countries the right to have med ical treatment in other member states, came to Mrs Blood's rescue after she was turned down last October by the High Court's family division. She will have to pay for treatment in Belgium.

The Human Fertilisation and Embryology Act bans treatment in Britain after a sperm donor's death without his consent, But three judges, led by the Master of the Rolls, Lord Woolf, ruled that the authority's refusal to exercise its discretion to allow the sperm to be taken abroad was flawed, because it failed to take full account of rights under EC law.

The authority will reconsider its decision at its no on February 27. But it will have to produce strong public policy easons to refuse Mrs Blood her right as an EC citizen to have the treatment in another member state, and the judges made it clear they could think of no such

However, the ruling will bar

but had been rejected because she

had received psychiatric treatment

other women in similar circumstances from following her example. The judges said her case was unique because it was now clear that the extraction and, storage of the sperm without Mr Blood's consent had been unlawful under the Act. Therefore there can be no fresh cases, making it difficult to justify the ban on public policy grounds.





crimes tribunal at The Hague. Vakic, now the lender of the ultraright Radical Party in Nis, is furious at the regime's attempt to rig local elections there, and believes Milesevic is bound to full. He has collated a mass of documents he insists will prove he and his men are innocent of any war crimes, and that all the actions they undertook were

diminishes, the more wartime se crets come to the surface. Milosevic faces not only the strong possibility

CHRIS WOODHEAD, the Gov-ernment's chief inspector of video tapes, tape-copying equipment. schools, maintained his reputation as the teaching profession's most trenchant critic when, in a combative annual report, he blamed 3,000 head teachers for failing to provide adequate leadership.

His overall findings were an improvement on the previous year's. The proportion of poor or unsatisfactory lessons had dropped from 18 per cent to 16 per cent, he said, and ne revised his previous estimate of 15,000 incompetent teachers to 13,000. Progress was being made. even though the process was "slow, difficult and sometimes painful".

But the report still enraged the teaching community, which contends that his continuous criticism has sapped morale and contributed to a stampede for early retirement. David Hart, leader of the National Association of Head Teachers, said Mr Woodhead had become the Cassandra of the education service, "always crying 'woe, woe and three times woe'. As a consequence, his message will increasingly be ignored by the very people he hopes to influence."

This kind of backlash, however, seems only to stiffen the resolve of the Office of Standards in Education. Mike Tomlinson, Ofsted's head of inspection, responded: "I don't give a monkey's toss for the teachers. It's the children I care about."

THE SHADOW education secretary, David Blunkett, surprised everyone with his assurance that a Labour government would "pose no threat to the continuance of grammar schools, or to their ethos or their quality". This was the same Mr Blunkett who, a year ago, promised Labour would ballot parents with a

view to scrapping grammar schools.

The Prime Minister's ambition is to have a grammar school in every town. But grammar schools involve selection for pupils at the age of 11, which Labour opposes. "Watch my lips . . . no selection . . ." said Mr Blunkett, to the applause of delegates at last year's Labour conference.

What he now says is that only parents would be able to initiate a ballot to scrap a school. And, even then, a Labour Education Secretary would be the final arbiter in deciding whether sufficient numbers had asked for one, So, no Labour threat to selective grammar schools.

The explanation for this apparent volte-face is to be found in the Wirral constituency, where a crucial byelection is to be held next month, and where Tory campaigners are claiming that two rather good grammar schools there would be at risk under a Labour government.

A N INQUIRY into the top-security Ashworth Hospital, on Merseyside, was launched by the Health Secretary. Stephen Dorrell, after he was presented with evidence of alleged paedophile activity, corruption, and the use by patients of pornography, drugs and alcohol. He also suspended the chief executive, Janice Miles, the consultant psychiatrist, Dr lan Strickland, and two nurses.

The inquiry will centre on the hospital's personality disorder unit. which houses 115 dangerous mental

and thousands of pounds in cash were seized. It was also there that the eight-year-old daughter of a former patient was seen playing with a sex offender, and where inmates were alleged to have paid to be allowed to molest her. The child was taken into local authority care.

The hospital was the subject of a damning inquiry report in 1993, which found proof of organised crime, sex, drug-taking, and cruelty to patients. The current allegations are contained in a 60-page dossier compiled by an inmate who absconded last autumn, only to give himself up later, saying he had escaped only to protest against

THE ENTIRE London art market fell under suspicion as Sotheby's suspended two senior staff mem bers in the wake of allegations of systematic smuggling.

Roeland Kollewjin, the company's Old Masters expert in Milan, was suspended after a clandestine television documentary recorded him promising to amuggle an 18th century painting from Italy to Britain where, it was suggested, it would fetch a better price. The other man suspended - George Gordon, a director who works in the Old Masters department in London - was filmed taking delivery of the portrait by Giuseppe Nogari.

The Department of Trade and Industry launched an urgent inquiry into the implications of these allegations. Italian police claimed that London was universally recognised as the number one destination for

UCRATIVE advertising deals in the United States and other brazen ventures were said to have raised enough money to clear the Duchess of York's £4.2 million overdraft. But financial experts estimated she might need another £1.3 million to settle her tax liabilities.

Her sister-in-law, Diana, Princess of Wales, who wrote a gushing foreword to a book by the Italian fashion designer, Gianni Versace, withdrew her support - and the foreword when the book (to raise funds for Aids research) was found to contain photographs of naked men opposite pictures of the Royal Family.







Labour to peg top salaries

Quardian Reporters

ABOUR last week raised the stakes over this year's public sector pay settlement when Gordon Brown, the shadow chancellor, warned that a Blair government would block implementation of both stages of the "top people's" award agreed by John Major's Cabinet last week — if it wins power before April 1. If Mr Major delays polling day until April 10 or May 1, Mr Brown would simply stop the second phase.

As teachers, nurses, doctors and dentists, and other groups whose average 3.3 per cent award will be paid in two stages - 2 per cent on April 1 and the rest on December 1 - protested at the unfairness of the Cabinet's tactics, Mr Brown focused his fire on the 2.75 to 7 per cent package proposed for judges, senior officers and higher civil servants.

Under the Treasury timetable endorsed by the Cabinet, they will get per cent on April 1 - up from £104,431 to £108,192 for a High Court judge - and the remainder plus staged increases left over from 1994 on December 1. A newly qualified NHS staff

£12,230, then £12,385 by December. a similarly placed teacher from

£14,001 to £14,280, and £14,663 when the full 3.3 per cent is paid. Mr | • Labour on Monday unveiled Brown is committed to those rises while freezing the overall pay bill for 5 million public sector workers for at least two years. What caught Whitehall, the mili-

tary and the judiciary on the hop last week was that Mr Brown immediately made plain that, if he succeeds Kenneth Clarke before April 1, he will freeze both phases in the name of "tough but fair" restraint.

At stake is Mr Clarke's determination to squeeze public sector pay for the fourth year running by shaving £300 million off the £1.1 billion which the five review bodies' recommendations would have cost in 1997-98. Mr Brown said: "We know we will inherit a difficult position, which means that we can make no

Christine Hancock, general sec-retary of the Royal College of Nursing, said: "The Government has missed a golden opportunity to restore the morale of nurses by giving them what the pay review body recommended," But nurses' anger at | ding jobs.

award was partly blunted by what they saw as a precious victory ow local pay determination.

radical proposals for combating job insecurity when it offered all public sector workers the prospect of "employment for life" in return for greater flexibility. With polling day looming, Labour

believes that tackling job insecurity in the public sector - where 42 per cent of the staff taken on since 1992 are non-permanent — could be m \ electoral trump card. The Opposition plans to make an

attack on insecurity a central plank of its election campaign and will seek to end the drift towards shortterm contracts and casualisation across the public sector. Labour's approach is particularly

designed to appeal to the 40 per cent of the workforce who have had o move jobs during the recession. Traditionally job security was a

key feature of public sector employment, But with no growth in budgets in the public sector over the past three years, the Government has met spending ceilings by shed-

Spousal transmission leads to new lunacy

Simon Hoggart

ARAH HOGG is the woman who persuaded John Major to

stay in the Exchange Rate Mechanism until it was too late, costing the country many billions of pounds. Her husband, Douglas, is the Agriulture Minister whose mishandling of the beef crisis has helped cost axpayers at least £3.3 billion.

We know this because he even boasted about it. Gavin Strang, the labour spokesman, wondered why. when Mr Hogg had met the National Farmers' Union last week, e had not told them when the beef ban would be lifted, but had instead offered them an extra £71 million to help cope with the beef crisis and insulted" his audience by asking them to vote Conservative whilst

ielivering a harangue about Labour.

ting ready for a tantrum) and literally | doubled since he had become spat out his reply. This is because there is a faulty valve somewhere in his salivary glands, and so each word

emerges lavishly lubricated. "I had a mosht intereshting dishcushion with the NFU. We have committed £3.3 billion, the equivalent of 2p on income tax!"

selves for spending taxpayers' money to rectify a problem entirely of their own creation is not merely chutzpah. It implies a degree of lunacy, and offers a new theory to explain mad cow disease: spousal transmission.

In Prime Minister's Questions Tony Blair set a trap and, somewhat unexpectedly, Mr Major stepped into it. It can't have been very wellmade, more life Pooh's Heffalump Trap, because the Prime Minister stepped straight out again. Still, it was an achievement of sorts.

Mr Hogg twisted himself Into a Mr Blair asked whether he could knot the looks like a six-year-old get- | confirm that the National Debt had | shoes, like O J Simpson.

Prime Minister. (It has.)

"I can also confirm..." Mr Major said. Labour MPs laughed happin at that give-away "also", but nano seconds later he was back to nanosecond is defined as the period of time between the lights turning green and the idiot in the Astra ehind you leaning on his horn).

"I can confirm that there is not a single economy in Europe that can match ours!" he raved. This was another of Mr Major's

--- you can't really call them lies, 50 much as fictions, porkie pies in pull pastry. We all know that even in their present difficulties, the Germans are half as rich again as us, but he may genuinely believe the opposite is true. You could hook him up to a lie detector.

The British economy is the most successful in Europe," he would say and it wouldn't flicker. Thank good-ness he doesn't wear Bruno Magil GUARDIAN WEEKLY February 16 1997

New figures question religious revival of what he described as "candy-floss idols". He said that rave-style services such as the notorious Nine

Madeleine Bunting and Luke Harding

HE Church of England was dealt a sharp blow last week when new figures revealed the biggest annual drop in the number of people attending Sunday services for 20 years and painted a grim picture of decline across the board.

The statistics proved an embarrassing setback for the Archbishop of Canterbury, George Carey, and dented the much-vaunted optimism among clergy that the fall in churchgoing had bottomed out following the battle over women priests.

Official figures show that average attendance in 1995 is now close to

the psychologically significant million mark, at 1,045,000, a fall of ticular, the decline undermines the 36,000 on 1994.

The Bishop of Wakefield, the Rt Rev Nigel McCulloch, admitted he was surprised and disappointed by the decline, but insisted that the figures did not correlate with his own experience. "We mustn't take these figures at face value. The anecdotal evidence from the parishes is that more people are coming to church but less often - perhaps once or twice a month rather than weekly.

This needs to be tested with proper

Dr Carey has built heavily on the idea that the Church had turned the

research," he said.

centrepiece of Dr Carey's ministry - the designation of the nineties as the Decade of Evangelism and the emergence of "mission" as the ubiq-

uitous buzzword in the Church.

The infighting continued last weekend following an outspoken attack by Lord Runcle on "dangerous rave-in-the-nave" services. The former Archbishop of Can-

terbury said he was temperamentally against "clappy-and-happy, huggy-and-feely worship which seems to reduce God to a puppet". He added: "Turning worship into something fashionable, an ecclesiastical health farm, is a danger."

implicit rebuke for Dr Carey, who has encouraged services which reflect youth culture. The traditionalist Archdeacon of

York, the Venerable George Austin, also entered the fray last week, blaming Lord Runcie himself for the decline in church-going. He accused him of promoting his own brand of "effete, liberal élitism" during his time at Lambeth Palace between 1980 and 1991, adding: "We were led for 10 years by a man who has admitted that he didn't have much spirituality or faith."

Last weekend Lord Runcie hit back, attacking the resurgent evan-

vices, such as the notorious Nine O'Clock Service in Sheffield, which was at the centre of a scandal when the Rev Chris Brain was accused of exploiting female worshippers, were

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Lord Runcie's remarks left both evangelical leaders and leading consensualists within the Church distinctly unimpressed.

The Rev Gordon Fyles, spokesman for Reform, an evangelical pressure group, said: "While there are very serious defects with the Sheffield Nine O'Clock services, the vast numbers of evangelical churches are what we call 'seeker-friendly' - trying to make the Church accessible to people who have had no prior access to or contact with the Church."

UK has 'most racist youth'

Stuart Millar

RITAIN has produced a genera-Dion of the most intolerant young people in Europe, says a survey on he attitudes of the nation's youth.

The European Youth Survey, published by the satellite music channel VIIV, suggests that young Britons in the 1990s are characterised by extreme contradictions, adopting strongly conservative views on issues such as race, and law and order, while maintaining hedonistic autudes towards sex and drugs.

Most worryingly, it indicates they are by far the most racist in Europe. Almost 30 per cent disagreed that all races are equal and 26 per cent sid they would never consider dating someone of a different colour.

Similarly, less than half Britain's to 24-year-olds said they were in layour of immigration — though 55 per cent agreed that multiculturalom enhanced culture.

These figures compare unlavourably with other European nations. Among Germans, the next most intolerant nation, 19 per cent disagreed that all races were equal, while in Spain only 7 per cent dis-

The British and the French were the most willing to commit murder, with 18 per cent in each country saying they would kill if they felt they could get away with it.

Young people in Britain also hold some of Europe's most conservative opinions on law and order. Almost 70 per cent favoured the reintroduction of the death penalty - 25 per

cent above the European average. But despite this collection of unattractive characteristics, Britons remain the third most popular people among young Europeans, after the French and Italians.

Meanwhile a report by the Insti-ute for Public Policy Research found that many members of the Asian community in Britain are prejudiced against Afro-Caribbeans and mmigrants, and are more set against inter-racial marriage than white people.

of the Asian community said many black people were involved in crime and that they would not want a close relative to marry an Afro-Caribbean. More Asians than any other group thought there was too much Asian and African immigration into

The report found that members

The survey also showed that there is still a "die-hard" core of, racists among white people.

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home gun ban

Ewen MacAskill

THE House of Lords last week defeated a key part of the Government's handguns bill; pu forward in the wake of the Dunblane massacre.

In the most significant of three defeats for the Government last week, by 153 votes to 139, peers overturned a ban on holding pistols at home, and sald owners should be allowed to do so provided parts to enable the gun to fire were held at secure gun clubs. The change is almost certain to be reversed when the Firearms (Amendment) Bill returns to the Commons.

Labour said most of the peers voting for the amendment were hereditary. George Robertson, the shadow Scottish secretary, who lives in Dunblane, said: "The hereditary peers are further strengthening the case for their own abolition."

Later the Home Secretary, Michael Howard, suffered another rebuff when a Liberal Democrat move to compensate gun dealers hit by the ban on high-callbre handguns was carried by 121 votes to 110. According to official sources, this could push up the compensation bill from £150 million to £500 million. Peera also voted by 57 votes to 53 for a centralised police register of licensed firearms holders.

At the committee stage, peers voted for compensation to be paid to any gun club forced to close by the bill. The amendment on keeping guns at home was moved by Lord Pearson of Rannoch, a Tory who last month embarrassed ministers by initiating legislation for Britain's withdrawal from the European Union.

Jacqueline Walsh of the Snowdrop Petition, campaigning for a total handgun ban, said the amendment was unacceptable since the gun parts to be re-

Peers overrule | A levels face big shake-up

FUNDAMENTAL reform of the exam system in England and Wales, including the first thorough revamp of A levels for more than 40 years, was announced this week by the Government in an attempt to improve skills to match international competition.

As the Government seeks to assure parents that education remains one of its top priorities, it also unveiled plans to extend the use of league tables of schools' performances. The alm is to increase GCSE passes.

Gillian Shephard, the Education and Employment Secretary, first announced plans for a broader education after 16. Instead of embarking on a two-year A level course, most young people will sit three subjects at Advanced Subsidiary level at the end of the first year in the sixth

subjects for a second year to secure the full A level. Others may switch to take further Advanced Subsidiary levels or vocational qualifications.

The aim will be to reduce the 30 per cent failure rate at A level without devaluing the qualification which Margaret Thatcher described as the academic gold standard". The new approach would bring England, Wales and Northern Ireland more closely into line with the broader and more flexible system in Scotland.

The Prime Minister also committed the Government to exam league tables at ages seven and 14. They will be added to those already published at ages 16 and 18, and, for the first time next month, at 11.

Of A level changes, Mrs Shephard said: "This will provide a positive target for students who may not complete a full A level, and it will also allow students to broaden the | plementation.

Some will continue with these | range of subjects they can cover." Her package will implement most of the reforms proposed last year by Sir Ron Dearing, the Government's former chief curriculum adviser.

Mrs Shephard coupled syllabus reform with a call for a reduction in the number of exam boards setting and marking A levels. After allegations that one board increased the grades of candidates from famous public schools last summer, she will insist on further mergers to stop boards lowering their standards to win more business.

The Government has ruled out nationalising the system by creating a single examinations authority, but Mrs Shephard wants only two or three rival boards and a drastic reduction in the number of competing

Her proposals for A level reform are expected to attract Labour support and stand a good chance of im-



All aboard . . . A former Falklands barracks ship, the Resolution, which the Prison Service says needs to house 500 low security inmates as mainland jails runs out of space. But the emergency plans received a setback when councillors for Portland harbour, near Weymouth in Dorset, rebelled and complained it would be an eyesore that would destroy tourism. They are set to fight the floating jail plan

In Brief

HE HOME Secretary has of ficially confirmed that Moore murderer Myra Hindley will re main in prison for the rest of her life. Her lawyers claimed that his decision was unlawful and said they would seek to challenge it. Meanwhile Ian Brady, the other Moors murderer, has called for the right to take his own life.

TIE Government's new miscarriage of justice commission was urged to investigate claims that Carole Hanson, who died last week, spent 27 years in jail for a murder she did not

SIR JOHN KERR, Britain's ambassador to the United States, is leaving his post early to become head of the diplomatic service in London.

JUDGE ordered 14-year-old A Brian Smith to be detained indefinitely for battering to death nine-year-old Jade Matthews on Merseyside railway last year.

THE PRO-LIFE Alliance unveiled plans to field up to 70 inti-abortion candidates against opposition MPs at the election.

R ADIOACTIVITY leaked from overflows at Settafield in Cumbria — the second time is a week that the nuclear plantles faced an emergency.

A NEW ZEALAND woman who lost her unborn child and nearly her life after cervical cancer was not diagnosed on a routine smear test won £60,305 damages against Wiltshire and Buth health authority.

■ FALTH authorities appeare to rule out a national screen ing system for prostate cancer after researchers said it would full to detect most men with the disease while creating needless mxicty for thousands.

A ROGUE infected carcass is suspected of causing the latest Scottish E. coli outbreak in Arbroath. One woman has been killed and another is dangerously ill in hospital.

Three boys, all aged 15, appeared in court on the day before his death accused of attempted murder.

PAUL WARD, aged 32, has been charged with murdering the award-winning investigative crime journalist, Veronica Guerin, in Dublin last year.

HE Government is to con-tribute £43 million towards the cost of rebuilding the centre of Manchester which was devas tated by an IRA bomb last June.

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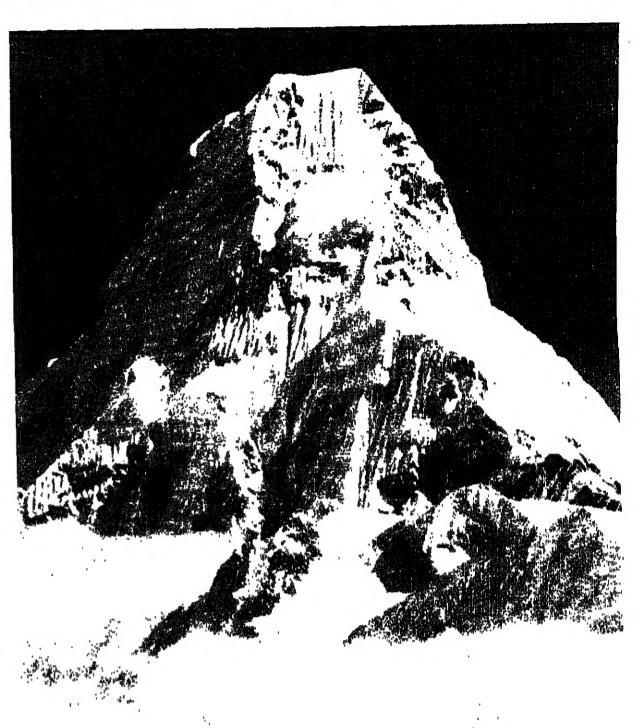
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New danger for ceasefire | Tories at odds on devolution

HE loyalist ceasefire in Northern Ireland was under intense pressure this week after the IRA abandoned a 1,000lb bomb in Strabane, west Tyrone.

The bomb had a command wire and firing pack attached and was packed into three 40-gallon barrels. it had been left on waste ground beside the Fir Trees Hotel.

Detective Inspector Mervyn ploded the devastation would have been tremendous. There would have been widespread clamage to buildings and huge loss of life."

Police believe the IRA's intention was to explode the bomb as a security patrol passed nearby.

Last week the IRA briefed journalists in Dublin and denied its run of aborted or failed operations amounted to a "phoney war". It all but ruled out another ceasefire before the general election.

A few hours earlier, a police officer was slightly injured when an \ the Commons authorities on Mon-\ tween Mr Dorrell and Mr Forsyth is explosive device was thrown at a pa- | day because of the "high level of | trol in the Co Tyrone village of | threat from the IRA", the Serjeant at | ing to frighten Scottish voters by | tions which a Labour government Pomeroy. In the past week there | Arms, Peter Jennings, said.

have also been attacks on RUC vehicles in Dungannon, Co Tyrone and

Lurgan, Co Armagh. The upsurge in violence coincided with new stirrings of peace overtures, sparked by comments made by the chairman of the Conservative Northern Ireland backbench committee, Andrew Hunter.

Last weekend the Sinn Fein president; Gerry Adams, said he wanted to discuss a "time frame" for his party's entry into talks. He was preprinciples of democratic methods.

Mr Hunter said: "The Government made it quite clear that there was still a line of communication between it and the Provisionals if they want to use it." But he added: "Diaogue has to be meaningful and based upon an unequivocal restoration of the ceasefire, and there is nothing to talk about while the Provisionals are still intent on continuing their violence."

 Tighter security measures at Westminster were announced by

Ewen MacAskill

ABINET confusion over Scot-Utish devolution was exposed this week when the Health Secretary, Stephen Dorrell, suggested a future Scottish parliament could be

This was at odds with the views of the Scottish Secretary, Michael Forsyth, who reiterated that the Tories will not seek to reverse a Scottish parliament if a Labour government creates one. He said: "Unce Humph Dumpty falls off the wall, he will not be put back together again no matter how many of the king's horses and

the king's men turn up. Mr Dorrell, tipped as a candidate for the Tory leadership if John Major loses the general election, attempted to undo the damage by claiming his comments had been nisinterpreted. The row is a setback for Mr Dorrell, who was appointed by Mr Major to make the case

against Labour's devolution plans.

The key to the difference besaying a vote for a Scottish parlia- would have to address.

rell suggested it could be undone.

Any Conservative attempt to dismantle a Scottish parliament would defy the result of a referendum to be held later this year if Labour wins the election. The referendum would ask Scots if they want a parliament and if they want it to have

Labour leader Tony Blair said: "If they [the Scottish people] vote for Rickard, who was battered it, it would be quite extraordinary if | with an iron bar outside his the Conservative party try and wreck that."

Mr Dorrell made his comment to the Scotsman newspaper, whose reporter said: "What you seem to be saying really is that if for whatever reason this parliament comes about, the best route to ensure that our arrangements remain intact is to get rid of it again, rather than ..."

Mr Dorrell interrupted: "Yes, absolutely." He said later he had not used the word abolish. "I said that a Scottish parliament that was set up on the half-baked basis that Labour currently proposes is one that raises strategy. Mr Forsyth has been try- a whole series of unanswered ques-

Per performance is not necessarily is goode to figure performance. The value of an once among conjugation is well as up this may parily be a result of exchange rate this trustions), and you may not get back the anisomatoms where the value of an once among conjugation is not recessarily is goode to figure performance. The value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present to the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present the value of an once among conjugation is not present to the value of an once among conjugation is not present to the value of an once among conjugation is not present to the value of an once among conjugation is not present to the value of an once among conjugation is not present to the value of an once among conjugation is not present to the value of an once among conjugation is not present to the value of an once among conjugation is not present to the value of an once among conjugation is not present to the value of an once among conjugation is not present to the value of an once - reproductive is not necessarily in goods to fingui, performance. The value of an one-amount conjection is well as up this may party by a recommendation of contractive in the salue of an one-amount conjection is such as the production of the salue of an one-amount conjection of the salue of an object to the salue of the salue o

Britain enjoys only a half-free press

Court last week. A jury backed an honest reporter doing the work a reporter should. We toasted those 12 men and women at the Guardian. Their instincts about the case were right

But there was no toast to the judge or the law. The trial - which could have cost the paper nearly £750,000 (\$1.2 million) -- should never have happened. It would never have happened in countries which do more than mouth platitudes about press freedom.

If, at the end of a trial we won, we say that the case was an accident of justice, that is only partly a reflec-tion on the judge, Mr Justice French, who presided (after a manner) over the trial. It is also a reflection on other judges before him who have seemed to care little about the press's role in a free society. It is a reflection on Parliament, which has tinkered with the law of libel but never reformed it. And it is a reflection on all in society who do little to nurture or protect the freedom of expression they affect to care about.

The immediate and most localised effect of the judgment in Ben nett and Others vs The Guardian is that editors may be bolder in reporting on cases of suspected corrup-tion in public life. In recent years one trade union - the Police Federation - has succeeded in stifling much fair reporting and comment

about a subject of vital concern. During the 33 months to March 1996 (the latest figures available) the Police Federation fought - and won - 95 such actions for defamation, recovering £1,567,000 in damages. Small local papers and magazines routinely cave in, knowing that they cannot possibly afford the cost of going to trial.

Last week's victory for the Guardian should change that climate a little. But that is entirely due to the jury. The signal from the courts remains the same: they will do little to protect you if you engage in robust investigations of people in public life. Do not come bleating to judges about the public's right to know or the public interest. They do not want to know.

The cause of the action dated back more than five years to two carefully researched articles about unnamed police officers who were being investigated for corruption in a troubled inner-city area of London.

Duncan Campbell, an experienced and respected crime correspondent, had been investigating Newington police station since October 1991. He had spoken to convicted drug dealers, to local solicitors and to a former police officer. all of whom had either specific allegations or broad concerns about officers at the station.

Campbell also met with the man heading the inquiry. Detective Superintendent Ian Russell. By the time the Guardian ran articles, there was a major inquiry into the station, with five officers working under Russell. One detective constable had already been charged with theft and fraud.

On January 28, 1992, Scotland

USTICE was done in the High | Yard issued a press statement saying that eight Stoke Newington offi cers had been transferred to other stations. That single act was virtually unprecedented in the Metro-politan Police, and the news spread like wildfire from station to station Campbell wrote two pieces about the transfer of the - unnamed officers, together with background material he had accumulated during his investigation. No officers complained about those articles at the

The inquiry went on to become one of the biggest inquiries into police corruption undertaken by the Police Complaints Authority (PCA). Sir Peter Imbert, then Metropolitan Police Commissioner, described them as "the most serious allegations of police corruption for 20

In time, one of the Guardian's main sources for the original pieces had her conviction quashed on appeal. Another source received a fivefigure sum in damages, and 13 people convicted on the evidence of officers from the police station had their convictions overturned by the Court of Appeal.

In a further 20 cases, the Crown Prosecution Service offered no evidence. In all, more than £500,000 is damages was paid by the Metropolltan Police as a result of civil actions taken against officers from Stoke

You might think that there could be little that was controversial about a serious newspaper reporting on events of this importance and scale. especially if the officers were not named. We have seen what has happened in inner-city areas where confidence in the police - and the regulation of the police - has bro-

Lord Scarman's report after the Brixton riots of 1981 makes much of this: "Unless and until there is a system for judging complaints against the police which commands the support of the public, there will be no way in which the atmosphere of distrust and suspicion between the police and the community in places like Brixton can be dis-

Unfortunately, the Police Federation has a different view of what should and should not be reported about the police. It has access to a huge fighting fund for legal actions of all sorts. In 1995, it spent no less than £5.2 million of its £7.7 million revenue on legal services. The libel actions by police are known in the force as "garage actions", since the Qamages are iusi

build a nice extension. The tactics employed by the Federation in this case were textbook stuff. They waited until two years and 51 weeks had passed — a week before the cut-off point for launching a libel action - before issuing writs on behalf of the eight officers who had been suspended and who had never been named by the

Guardian, Three officers did not pursue their actions, for reasons the court never heard. That left five, who by then had been cleared of any wrongdoing by the PCA.

The fact that the Guardian had



PHOTOMONTAGE ROGER TOOTH

not named these men counted for I little in court. All submitted statements from relatives or colleagues saying that they had recognised the people to whom the articles referred. Out of a Guardian readership of more than a million, perhaps 300 readers knew their identity and they would, of course, have been the very people most likely to rave been in the know.

And so the slow and expensive wheels of libel were set in motion. ant principle was at stake. We considered our reporter should be defended. He had reported the story fairly and accurately and had even tried to assist the original in-

WO senior policemen - Superintendent Russell and former Deputy Assistant Commissioner Michael Taylor would give evidence on his, and the paper's, behalf. So would the Chairnan of the PCA. Even though after two false starts — the costs were already approaching £500,000, we thought we should fight.

It is at this point that the peculiarities of the English libel law began to bite. We had hoped to be able to argue qualified privilege: that is, hat the community had an equal interest in receiving the information as we had in publishing it. If we had so succeeded, the policemen would have had to prove that Campbell was being malicious or reckless as to the truth of what he wrote.

Mr Justice French turned out not o be interested in whether or not it was in the interests of the public to know about allegations of police corruption or whether the Guardian had a duty or right to pass on the in-

error-strewn judgments he struck out that defence, together with much of our evidence. He went further. He ruled that

the Guardian could make no mention of anything that happened after the articles were published. We could say nothing about the subsequent vindication of our main sources. To the jury, they may have simply looked like the malicious claims of convicted drug dealers. We could convey little idea of the scope of the police inquiry, or the damages the police finally paid out. We could not point out that one officer at the centre of the allegations, DC Roy Lewandowski, had been

The judge's decision to exclude any evidence of events following the publication - with the exception of the plaintiffs' evidence that they had been cleared - was backed by the Court of Appeal. By the end of the trial, the jury could be forgiven for thinking that the Guardian had been making mischief and that there never had been any public disquiet about the station.

The judge's summing-up would certainly have reinforced that impression. It dealt extensively with cians must wake up to the way the policemen's case and made only nodding reference to the Guardian's defence. Mr Justice French, who appeared to be having difficulty following some of the legal arguments, managed to avoid mentioning any of the Guardian's witnesses, save for a solitary sentence from Campbell in which he referred to the size of the Guardian's readership.

In America and other countries with a more developed sense of the balance between free expression and individual dignity, the case would never have come to court. formation. During the course of That is largely thanks to a Supreme some somewhat rambling and Court ruling in 1964, which funda- and protected him.

mentally changed the law of libel is order to allow the media to report on, and comment on, public life.

The ruling of Justice William Brennan in New York Times v Sullivan was a ringing defence of the right - and duty - of a free press to report freely on matters of public importance of a sort that it is hard imagine coming from any English judge. As in the Guardian case, Sullivan concerned an unnamed police official. At the original trial, the man Police Commissioner L B Sullivan of Montgomery, Kansas - collected \$500,000 in damages from the New York Times.

In upholding the Times's appeal, Brennan revolutionised American libel law, even allowing newspapers to make false statements uttered in the heat of debate, providing they were not maliciously made. Breanan said, among other things: ☐ "Debate on public issues should

be uninhibited, robust and wide open and . . . it may well include eliement, caustic and sometimes unpleasantly sharp attacks on government and public officials."

■ Newspapers faced with the possibility of hugo libel damages might well succumb to a "pall of fear and timidity" and tone down any criticism of public officials. The threat of massive costs "dampens the vigour and limits the variety of pub-

→ Public officials would in future have to prove actual malice: ie, the plaintiff would have to prove the re porter was reckless as to whether what he or she was writing was true

S UBSEQUENT rulings have made it clear that any police officers with the same to officers with the power w "public figures".

The European Court of Human Rights has also gone much further than England in allowing criticism of public figures. A test case Lingens v Austria, found that a libel award against a commentator was a breach of Article 10 of the European Convention on Human Rights be cause it would deter journalists from contributing to public discussion of issues affecting the community. Some jurists believe that Sullivan

tilts the balance too far in favour of the press. They point to judgments in other countries which have managed to achieve a better equilibrium. But most lawyers are agreed that British libel laws are out of step with the trend in international law and inhibit public debate.

To say all this is not to excuse the press, which must take its share of blame for the current indifference to the vital role it has to play in the public life of Britain. Too many papers have behaved in too cavalier a fashion, confusing the public interest with what interests the public They have brought us to the brink of legislation which will further shackle an already half-free press.

But Britain's judges and politi which the cost, the risk and the balance of the present state of the law all militate against honest reporting by responsible newspapers and broadcasting organisations.

Bennett and Others v Guardian Newspapers Ltd could have been the case that helped push back the limitations on the press in Britain. It hasn't done that. But the 12 men and women of the jury had a better sense of justice and freedom of speech than the lawyers. They recognised a good and decent reporter — known as such by police officers the length of the land **Nawaz Sharif's** landslide

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

WHO WILL GUIDE Pakistan's democracy after the sweeping success of Nawaz Sharif's Pakistan Muslim League? The unexpected size of his victory over Benazir Bhutto gives him the strength to take on the president and generals whose version of "guided democracy" has dominated the past eight years — if he dares. But the huge number of non-voters suggests that most Pakistanis have adopted a more sceptical view. Mr Sharif's supporters were busy last week

claiming that the result gives the green light to democracy. They argue that he offers a modern al-ternative to the semi-feudal Pakistan People's Party of Ms Bhutto, and the prospect of evolving towards full parliamentary rule. If this is really so, then Mr Sharif has the chance to prove it very soon. Last month the Supreme Court upheld the power to dismiss elected governments — by virtue of the notorious Eighth Amendment dating back to the era of direct military rule — which was used by President Farooq Leghari to remove Ms Bhutto last November (and had previously been employed against Mr Sharif in 1993). The Court ruled that this amendment can only be removed by a two-thirds majority in parliament. Mr Sharif now has the strength t persuade the smaller parties to join him in doing so. He could also press for abolition of the new Council for Defence and National Security set up by Mr
Leghari in January. This supposedly "advisory"
body gives the military its first formal say in government affairs. Opponents of Mr Sharif claim he
struck a secret deal with Mr Leghari under which he would be allowed to regain power as long as he lis-tened to the Council. Instead of saying weakly that parliament should "wait and see" how the Council behaves, he could scotch the rumour fast by taking action. For a politician who began his career as a protege of the dictator General Zin ul-Haq, it would e quite a test of his resolve.

Another way in which Mr Sharif could prove he is a modern capitalist alternative to the populist feudalism of the PPP would be to revive the abortive of Season attempt of Ms Bhutto's father to carry out a genuine land reform and break the power base of the landowners. Mr Sharif is likely to do little more than tinker with the question by offering more rural credit: his own party is after all also heavily dependent upon cash and blocks of votes delivered by loyal landlords. There is less doubt about his intention of implementing the "tough" reforms already instituted (under pressure from the International Monetary Fund) by Mr Leghari — which will do nothing to improve the daily lot of most Pakistanis.

What are we to think of Ms Bhutto? Her tar-

nished record and dubious connections have made her the author of most of her misfortunes. But she has also suffered domestically for daring to be a woman, and abroad from criticism that is sometimes tinged with malice. While denouncing the result, her reaction to defeat was more sober than had been predicted by her enemies. She wished Mr Sharif good luck and offered her co-operation "in creating stability in the country". To ome extent this is an acknowledgement of the PPP's new weakness, reduced from national status to that of virtually a provincial party. But Ms Bhutto may also reckon that if Mr Sharif is at all in-clined to do what is needed to strengthen democracy, then even now he may need her help.

Double sword of justice

HE SECOND O J Simpson trial was unlike the first in almost every possible way: the case was already in the public domain; it was a civil action with a lesser burden of proof; there was a different mix of evidence; the judge took a different view on crucial issues of admissibility; and the jury was predominantly white rather than black. Last and not least, it was not on TV.

It is unwise to conclude that this time justice has been done, and we should resist the temptation to become instant experts. All that can be said with confidence is that the evidence presented this time, in another forum with so many different features from the first — and on a lower standard of probability - pointed strongly in the direction of the verdict which was returned (and by unanimous rather than majority vote). The plaintiffs for Simpson's wife shooting bears was . . . Leonid Brezhnev.

siderable advantage of knowing in advance the main lines of the defence. They were able to take pretrial depositions from witnesses — a practice not allowed in criminal proceedings. These built up a mosaic of incriminating (though mostly circumstantial) detail which the defence was unable to demolish. The plaintiffs also benefited from the trial judge's refusal admit the evidence of racist utterances b Detective Mark Fuhrman, which had so strongly swayed the criminal trial jury. Most of all, they were able to put Simpson himself on the stand and to focus on inconsistencies in his account. Instead of the gloves, there were the shoes - which Mr Simpson denied possessing till photos were produced. This was not conclusive evidence but it did

his credibility no good at all. The suggestion that the verdict in the first trial was influenced by the colour of the jurors is itself wholly unproven. They found against a prosecution case that was poorly presented, and for an accused who was brilliantly defended in the best (or worst) barnstorming tradition of the American courtroom. It was clear that the reaction to the outcome of that trial had a strong racial connotation, with cheering in black streets and dismay in white saloon bars. The more muted response last week on both sides of the racial divide has much to do with the passage of time and the absence of TV coverage.

Cases where civil damages are sought against a lefendant who has been acquitted in criminal proreedings are still rare. There appears to be a subjective risk of double jeopardy, however distinct the actions may be in legal terms. But the real constraint will be an economic one. Few aggrieved families can afford to take action, and not many defendants have the funds that would make a successful suit financially worthwhile. Perhaps it is just as well. This case has been distinguished by an excess of money as well as of media hype - a combination more likely to produce good theatre than good justice.

A shot out

WHO KILLED the bears? I, said Viktor Chernomyrdin, Russia's prime minister and the West's favourite successor to Boris Yeltsin. He has been visiting Washington to discuss Nato, scientific co-operation, and the Clinton-Yeltsin summit next month. Mr Chernomyrdin has not been a dynamic speaker on these subjects. But killing bears is another matter. In an interview broadcast on Russian national television just before he left for the US, Mr Chernomyrdin spoke with some passion. "I love hunting, I really love hunting," he explained, "so it is with pleasure that I went when I had a free moment." Nor was he the slightest abashed by the unsporting circumstances that Ogonyok magazine had revealed. The bears in question - a mother and two cubs - had been spotted by officials in a village north of Moscow hi-bernating in their den. The prime minister was whisked there by helicopter, the bears were woken from their deep sleep - and summarily shot. It was, he said, "a normal thing to do".

Mr Chernomyrdin is himself regarded in some

Western quarters as a sort of Russian bear: representing a state which may no longer be communist but still offers a potential threat to its nearest neighbours. That is the logic of Nato expansion with which this paper disagrees — in very good company that now includes the grand old diplomat of US-Soviet relations, George Kennan, Writing in the New York Times, Mr Kennan said last week that to expand the treaty would be "the most fateful error of American policy in the entire post-Cold War era". He regards the possibility of future mili-tary conflict with Russia as fanctful, unforeseeable and improbable. The decision to spread the Nato umbrella eastwards will only inflame and Western tendencies in Moscow and make it difficult, if not | man graduates may soon face hard impossible, to secure the Dume's ratification of the | times. In Europe generally, govern-Start-2 treaty on nuclear reductions.

Start-2 treaty on nuclear reductions.

Not all those who believe on the contrary that Nato should expand are suggesting that the old Soviet bear still has claws. That seemed even less likely last week when the Russian defence minister described his armed forces as in a "horrifying state" of decay. Mr Chernomyrdin says he wants the US to put the cold war behind it and address the new, not the old, Russian generation. It would help if he behaved rather more like New Russian Man him-

Nicole and her friend Ronald Goodman had the considerable advantage of knowing in advance the main these of the defence. They were able to take pretrial. Many graduates

Martin Woollacott

S THE age of mass higher education over only a few years after it was proclaimed? Yes, if you believe the evidence last week put before the committee looking into the future of British universities, to the effect that Britain already has enough graduates. No, if you listened to President Clinton's state of the union message, in which he crusade", following his stated objective of making a 13th and 14th year of education - the first two years of college - as universal as the first 12.

This transatlantic contrast is an example of the way in which educaalways both a problem and a solution. It is a problem because it raises expectations it does not necessarily fulfil, and it is a solution because, even so, it offers hope, that most valuable political commodity. All over the world, investment in education is offered as a solution to individual aspiration, to the achievement of national economic success. and to a renaissance of values. Yet there is within the educational appeal a knot of contradictions.

Forty years ago, David Eccles was the first British minister to operate on the basis that everybody agreed that educational spending was an investment in the economy and in competitiveness. In the postsecond world war period, every Western country has increased spending and expanded higher education on that basis. Yet the results of this international expansion have not proved the case with any

The evidence that was put before the committee inquiring into the future of higher education in Britain simply noted that the number of graduates who were under-employed was increasing and the justification for further public spending was therefore unclear. The wonder is not that the over-supply of gradu-ates comes into the debate in this form, but that it has taken so long.

In 1993. Oxford reported a worrying percentage of graduates taking manual and low-level clerical jobs. yet a year later the Confederation of British Industries was still calling for increased higher education as "vital to the economic prosperity of the United Kingdom".

In 1994. French student demonstrations were triggered by Edouard Balladur's plan to cut the minimum wage — the minimum wage that at least some of them expected to be getting paid after graduation, such was the diminution in their prospects that had taken place,

figures from Germany suggest that, even though it is ordinary workers who will take the brunt, new Germents are tempted to keep unem-ployment down by putting more young people into higher education and training only to find, a few years later, that this recreates the problem in a different form.

In America, Bush, like Clinton. wanted to be known as the "education president", but graduate underemployment, not of Ivy League graduates but of those coming out of ordinary colleges, was already the individual or the nation.

becoming a phenomenon, even i not on the European scale. The better jobs are still "worth" the increase ing amount of money that a degree costs, especially as Clinton is now planning to reduce that cost.

As George Will argued in an article on the rising cost of ordinary colleges: "The public keeps buying because it is still a good bargain

The difference between the lifetime earnings of a college graduate and a non-graduate is substantially more than the cost of getting the degree. Indeed, the president puts a figure on it: those with two years of college education earn a quarter of a million dollars more over their lifetimes than those who never went to college. So, if you take away the cost of even the most expensive college you are still left with a clear average profit of, say, \$150,000.

The question is not only for how much longer will the average degree be "worth it", but whether assessing education in this mercenary way is not, in itself, an indication of how devalued the concept has become politically.

This is not only in terms of ndividual beneficiaries. The inadequacy of the skills revolution idea as an international solution arises from the fact that it envisages too many losers, among nations and within nations. What would the consequences for other nations be of an America, or any other country, which had taken over more and more of the new kind of work not tied by national frameworks in the old way? The South Koreans are said to be aiming for a target of 80 per cent of their young people in higher education by the turn of the century, a target which seems al-most insane. Higher education becomes then neither a true education for life, nor the means of social mobility, which has always constituted one of its attractions.

NSTEAD, it is all but openly proffered as the means to escape the social demotion that it is feared may be coming for individuals and countries. Or, as Clinton puts it, it is a means to bridge "the great Conti-nental Divide between those who will prosper and those who will not in the new economy".

Such anxieties have everywhere fuelled the expansion of higher education. But that expansion, with the consequent fall in standards and the looming possibility of a local or international oversupply, cannot guar-antee what used to be a graduate's prerogatives. It also tends to the division or redivision of higher education into an élite sector, which perhaps can guarantee escape, and a true mass sector, which cannot.

How a me about large numbers of people losing can be politically popular is not such a mystery, Most will imagine that their children can be among the winners, or be mistily borne along by the notion, once encouraged by Harold Wilson, when he said that he wished all children could go to grammar schools, that somehov what are essentially positional goods can be enjoyed by all. What can be enjoyed by all, an education that links study with work and citizenship, is made more difficult by a calculus that over-emphasises economic advantage, whether that of Chris Barrie In Secul

■ HE financial scandal seeping out of the Hanbo group causing waves within South Korea's government and banking community that threaten to wash up against the steps of the Blue House. the presidency, itself.

The problems besetting the country's 14th largest conglomerate have exceeded even South Koreans worst fears, in a country used to political and commercial sleaze.

Last week, the presidents of two leading banks, Shin Kwang-shik of the Korea First Bank and Woo Chan-mok of the Chohung Bank, were arrested and accused of accepting bribes of \$470,000 each for advancing loans to Hanbo. This week, the net was spread wider as prosecutors sought arrest warrants for two ruling party members, including a close associate of President Kim Young-sam.

All those summoned face questioning over how Hanbo's largest offshoot, a steel company, collapsed three weeks ago with debts of \$6 billion. Other Hanbo subsidiaries have followed and the group's founder, Chung Tae-soo, has been arrested amid allegations that bribes were paid to bankers and politicians to secure loans from 61 banks and financial institutions.

With rumours circulating that further cases may emerge before the presidential elections later this year, the government and opposition

are at loggerheads over the affair. Street sentiment is of weary cynicism. Corruption has been part of Korean officialdom since the early 1970s when the regime of former general and president Park Chung Hee began to repress dissent. Mr Park built the modern political democracy.

Korean economy by controlling Dr Cho Yoon-je, senior counsellor dissent. Mr Park built the modern

lan Traynor in Bautzen

A RECORD rise in German

/\unemployment of more than 500,000 in a month has left

Gunther Anders, standing in the

rain in this small eastern town,

confident of only one thing: that

he will never work again. He is almost certainly right.

As Germany atruggles with the

worst levels of jobleseness since

the 1930s, eastern towns such

as Bautzen are sunk in bitter-

ness and gloom. The bulk of the

middle-aged generation feels it has been written out of the jobs

equation, while young people complete apprenticeships only

"I suppose I'm what you'd call

to join the long dole queues.

an early pensioner," said Mr

Anders, aged 54, a joiner and

former factory hand who has

been out of work for four years.

"Nowadays here it's all short-

term contracts and part-time

There's no hope."



Shin Kwang-shik of the Korea First Bank, arrested on suspicion of accepting bribes

The financial system became an extension of the finance ministry. and scarce capital was advanced only for ventures which bureaucrats considered deserving. Commercial risk assessment was unknown. Bank presidents were, and in some cases still are, appointed from the Ministry of Finance and Economy, to which they often aspire to return. This web of state and financial sectors, of politics and hot money, lends itself to corruption.

And the country's financial institutions are immature - like its

that predicted by economists.

business through the civil service | to the deputy prime minister, said Korea's economy had grown as much in 30 years as the British economy had over 300 years. "Our institutions and systems have not

caught up that rapidly," he said.

The government is under pressure from senior businessmen to act. Lee Chan-ho, managing director finance of the LG Electronics group, said last week that Korea needed a new financial system. Without reform, industry's ability to grow would be limited by the inadequacies of the banking sector while the state would suffer from further corruption. He said: "Everyone knows what is needed. The problem is that no one decides to practise it."

reform, such as the liberalising of interest rates, as evidence of its willingness to move ahead.

The Bank of Korea also recognises that its supervisory role is under scrutiny. The Bank has quietly instituted an internal inquiry into what happened over the super vision of banks lending to Hanbo.

One Western banker said Hanbo may be the beginning of the end for the loans edifice upon which the country's big groups are based. "Fundamentally, too much has been won here too quickly, It is all on bor-

rowed money," he said. "The bubble may be about to

The new jobless figures come at a critical time for the country. for Chancellor Helmut Kohl and for Europe. Even if the German economy is flagging, it remains Europe's powerhouse. And in the period for deciding who is fit to join a single European cur-rency in 1999, the cash-strapped government's projections for the economy this year are colliding

with the reality of mass unemployment which will soak up chronically paralysed. more public spending and mean cuts elsewhere to qualify for European monetary union. But if the unemployment rate

of about 11 per cent in western Germany is alarming, in the former communist east the official figure of 18 per cent masks the real picture. In the Saxon town of Bautzen, near the Czech border, the figure was 21 per cent, up 3.5 per cent in one month. The shops and cafés are virtually

work. There's such insecurity. deserted as people feel the pinch. A further 14 per cent are in The German jobless figures retraining programmes with only slight hopes of finding work soared to an official 4.66 million in January, the federal labour oflater. Then there are schoolleavers in apprenticeships and job training who will soon

fice announced last week, stunning politicians, analysts and the media. The figure, unadjusted, register for the dole. was more than half a million up Confronted with record unemon December, an increase of 1.4 ployment this time last year, Mr per cent to 12.2 per cent, and Kohl pledged to halve the jobless the biggest recorded monthly inrate by the century's end. Since crease. The seasonally adjusted then those hopes have evaporated level rose by 160,000, triple as new dismal records are set.

Huge rise in German jobless

Pyramids of despair

THE road to Albania's economic integration in Europe is dangerously potholed. The furore over pyramid investment schemes has exposed the fragility of free enterprise in a country emerging from a highly centralised political system. Their collapse highlights how criminality has become a way of life.

Europe's poorest country, after five years of democracy, remains The drive from the Albanian capi-

tal, Tirana, to Greece, its only Eurowith the roadside kiosk and petrol

In Ballsh, the erstwhile home of oil production, the refinery differs little from the burnt-out cars. A little further down the road to-

wards the southern town of Vlore, scene of Monday's violent riots, lean women in white headscarves toil the fields. Men in big, flashy Swiss registered cars shoot by. The women, you are told, are growing hashish and the men in the big cara are trading it. It is estimated that about 50 per cent of the funds poured into the pyramids came from abroad and from "dirty" money reaped in the fields of the

"seed" to Albanians. Growers say that profits are assured from Europe's ever-expanding drug markets. Shipments are taken in high-speed launches to Greece and Italy where Albanians are known to have maffa links.

Under pressure from the West, President Sali Berlsha and his virulently rightwing Democratic Party recently passed tough legislation to clamp down on the trade, but corrupt and poorly paid officials do little to control it.

Drugs have transformed towns like Vlore, where mass protests pean Union neighbour, shows why over the pyramids erupted last the scams could have such sway. In | week. There are fears that Albania

Under its first democratic government, Albania has looked good on paper. It is the biggest recipient in Eastern Europe of EU aid about \$340 million annually. It has been hailed as perhaps the most

vibrant economy in transition. The collapse of the pyramid schemes has been a mortal blow to Albania's economic reputation abroad Close to \$2 billion is believed to have been tied up in the

The nation's savings have been effectively wiped out, and this will set back the rickety economy by years. The hope is that, with the collapse of the schemes, Albania will have learnt that easy money - be it The cultivation of hashish began in trafficking arms or hashish is four years ago when Greeks and not going to earn it the respect that results allegedly introduced the will bring it closer to Europe.

In Brief

HE dollar faces turbulent dealings on the market as traders react to strong signals from the Group of Seven, the world's leading economic pow-ers, that it may be time to cool the heat generated by the US currency's recent rapid rise.

EPSICO unveiled an 85 per cent drop in fourth-quarter profits due to losses in its international heverage business and slumping sales at the Pizza Hut and Taco Bell chains. It earned \$28 million compared with \$181 million a year earlier.

THE UK electricity industry could face a \$1.6 billion bil after the Pension Ombudsman ordered the National Grid to repay \$75 million to the company's retirement scheme.

BRITISH TELECOM unveiled profits estimated at \$170 a second with sales of more than \$18 billion in the last nine months of 1996.

A PPLE has appointed its two legendary founders, Steve Jobs and Steve Wozniak, to its executive committee to help the struggling computer company.

TIE threat to Ford's Halewood factory on Merseyside was lifted after talks with union produced a commitment to build a new model car there after the Escort production moves to Germany and Spain.

BRITISH Airways celebrated 10 years as a public company with a jump in profit from \$870 million to \$930 million for the sine months to December 31.

ORGAN Stanley and Dean Witter approunced a record \$10 billion merger that will create the world's largest financial ervices company.

BRITISH companies have in creased sharply their cash donations to charity but cut the hey give, according to the Directory of Social Change.

FOREIGN EXCHANGES 2.1565-2.1592 | 2.1015-2.1041

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GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Le Monde

Unrest threatens Albania's government

Rémy Ourdan in Tirana

RESIDENT Ali Berisha of Albania is facing his worst political crisis. The government is financial companies engaged in pyramid investment schemes and the opposition is calling for its resig-

Repression has increased people's distrust of the country's first post-communist regime which, despite its desire to appear "demo-cratic" and "liberal", is finding it difficult to convince the public of its

Protests by people who have lost their life savings and political demonstrations have been severely dealt with by the police, who have not only cracked down on vandals but also seized the opportunity to round up officials of the opposition Socialist Party, who could be sentenced to between three and 15 years in prison for "inclting" public disorder.

banned in the Albanian capital,

Berisha was voted into office in 1992 following the collapse of the Stalinist system that had prevailed for 45 years, but criticism of his methods is nothing new. Although European countries recognised the

the 1996 parliamentary elections as valid, Socialist Party members refuse to take their seats and are calling for fresh elections. The United States has condemned intimdation and fraud, and the "intense government pressure on the courts of law and the press". A US state department memo notes that the police are still ill-treating detainees,

ournalists and political opponents". The Albanian authorities are also riticised for detaining the Socialist Party president, Fatos Nano, for the past three years. Nano, accused of misappropriating funds*, is listed by Washington and Annesty International as a "political prisoner".

Edi Rama, an artist well-known for his outspoken criticism of the

Tirana, and Berisha's use of repressive measures is beginning to worry human rights observers.

government, lies in a bed at his parents in a bed at his parents in Albania without the government, lies in a bed at his parents consent."

exist in Albania without the government ment's consent."

This was a very poor country,

"I was about to enter the house vhen some men who had been waiting in the dark attacked me," he said. "They beat me over the head for a long time. I really think they wanted to kill me."

"What really drives us to despair is the European Union's attitude," said Rama. "It is backing a government that is in the process of estabishing a fascistic dictatorship. Our only haven of democracy is the US While Albania today does not

resemble the country that endured Enver Hoxha's absolute terror, the opposition is furious that the West is heaping praise on Berisha. They consider the human rights violations and the collapse of the pyramid operations sufficient grounds to oust the government.

"The pyramid scandal is a political problem," said Rama, "because no private activity can it's different."

said Ben Blushi, editor of the daily Koha Joni. "And the governmen made use of the pyramid operations to improve the Albanians' daily lives. This is one reason for the government's refusal to intervene in such fraudulent practices. The other reason is that the leaders took advantage of the companies to make themselves rich. The pyramid organisations financed the election campaigns of Sali Berisha's Democratic Party."

The opposition wants an "interim government" set up and early elections organised. In 1996 it urged people to denounce electoral fraud but the public was too concerned with improving their daily lot, and ignored the call.

"We had no luck because people don't give a damn about politics," said Kastriot Islami, the Socialist Party spokesman. "This time, Alba-

The Forum for Democracy is a coalition of seven parties from both the left and right. The aim to is to present a united front to Albanians and to the West, The Albanian opposition has been greatly inspired by the example of Serbia's Zajedno

"The opposition is trying to turn this social conflict into a political confrontation," said Alban Bala. snokesman for the ruling Democratic Party. "It's not by inflicting material damage on the state and moral damage on the Albanian peo ple that we will settle the economic crisis. We have explicit eyewitness accounts proving that opposition leaders were egging on demonstrators to cause destruction. This is intolerable.

Shahin Kadare, member of the centre-left Democratic Alliance, countered this, pointing out that "the opposition is quite weak com pared with the discontent of the people". "Sali Berisha is alone against the people," he said. "The Albanians are tired of a mafia's reign, and I fear the recent events are merely the curtain-raiser to a painful future for Albania."

Judges back appeal against corruption

Anne Chemin in Paris

D ARELY four months after B seven judges mot in Geneva and issued a call for more judicial co-operation within the Euro-pean Union, 400 of France's 6,000 magistrates have signed a petition. The signatories represent a contingent of the judiciary strongly attached to the principle of equality in law and include leaders of magistrates' unions. The vast majority of the signatories are investigating judges, deputy public prosecutors and

legal advisors.
"There is a kind of controlled anger in the face of the inequality of treatment between petty of fenders, with whom the judicial system is largely occupied, and big-time financial crime, which largely enjoys complete immu-nity," says Laurent Beccaria, a publisher's literary adviser and hairman of the Equality in Law esociation set up to support the

udges' appeal. Last December, Equality in ent copies of the Geneva appeal to all members of the French parliament. Only 10 of the National Assembly's 577

appeal seems to able reean coun n of olution Several ione in heir examafoot in organise aillar of

ty, but international judicial co-operation is extremely difficult," says Judge



Renaud Van Ruymbeke, one of those behind the Geneva

"For example, in Luxembourg which is a member of the EU, it takes such a long time to obtain [legal dossiers], and procedures for filing appeals are so numeroften necessary to get information about a bank account. If we really want to come to grips with big-time financial crime, it will be necessary to set up a more rapid and direct system."

The Geneva appeal called for the exchange of international letters rogatory [seeking judicial information] between judges and their colleagues in other countries to be allowed "without interference from the executive authority and without going hrough diplomatic channels' Such requests are currently forwarded through public prosecutors to the ministries of ustice and foreign affairs.

"The individual judge should be able to contact a European counterpart directly," said Van

Ruymbeke. "A magistrate in Paris should be able to ask for co-operation from a judge in Germany just as he can today from a judge in Besançon . . the free movement of judicial information should be made

Last October, France's justice signed an agreement appended to the 1958 European Convention on Judicial Co-operation. International letters rogatory will no longer be forwarded through uinistries, but will go on being ransmitted by public prosecuors' departments.

"The agreement has still not come into force, which prevents us from appraising its effectiveness," cautioned Geneva public rosecutor Bernard Bertossa. 'It's a small step forward, but we mustn't have any illusions. Only direct communication between judges, without going through the public prosecutor's department, will permit speedy and efficient co-operation (February 6)

Justice finally catches up with maverick Bernard Tapie

Hervé Gattegno in Paris

BERNARD TAPIE, the high-profile football promoter, businessman and former minister who has spent years fighting lawsuits and trying to stay out of prison, this week began serving a six-month term for tax fraud at the Santé rison in Paris. Other charges are still pending.

The spectre of jail had been haunting him since last November, when an attempt to have him arrested was rejected by the office of the National Assembly. Penal sanctions have from the outset punctuated the life of this businessman whose appetite for honours and perdevoid of scruples.

In 1981, he was given a suspended prison sentence of one year (since subject to an amnesty) after the collapse of an association he set up to help people with a heart condition. This was followed by three tax reappraisals, fines imposed by Customs, and reprimands from the watchdog committee of the Paris Bourse.

Ten years later, Tapie's relations with the judiciary were still govrned by a cynical profession of faith that could be summed up as "It can't hurt if nobody knows". Commercial courts were open to acceptthis worked in his favour. Politics was to give him "enough clout" to clear even legal hurdles.

In November 1990, when police: called at the offices of his football club, Olympique Marsellle, Tapie by now a member of parliament was in Japan on business. He telephoned the Marseilles public prosecutor and the regional police director and told them to call off the nvestigations.

On his return, he asked Jean-Paul Huchon, personal secretary to the then prime minister, Michel Rocard, to halt the inquiry. "Monsleur Taple has a vertical conception of

relations between the governmen and justice," noted Huchon wryly.

It is an understatement to say that developments hardly proved him wrong. It took a year and a half for a judge to be named to look into the management of the football club, even though Tapie's two closest associates, Jean-Pierre Bernes and Alain Laroche, had revealed most of the fraudulent practices during

police questioning. In that same year, 1992, Taple then minister of urban affairs in Pierre Bérégovoy's government — owed his survival in a judicial confrontation with a former business partner, Georges Tranchant, a National Assembly member, to a miraculous financial deal that led to the court dismissing the charges against him. "Business morality has taken a bashing," noted investigating Judge Edith Boizette, ruling in favour of Taple after Tranchant withdrew his complaint.

The guiding principle of this controversial standard-bearer of Mitterrandism has always been contempt for justice and judges, whom he regards as civil servants dispensing law without elective legitimacy. Once, in a burst of anger, he compared them to the Gestapo

Despite being an ex-minister convicted of tax fraud, an ex-football club president found guilty of corruption, and an ex-company director put into bankruptcy, Tapie has always attempted to give the impression of a man who was master of his own destiny. Taple spelled out his own rules of

the game in his autobiography: "The reward is not money: it's the pleasure, the game, the freedom, the ability to create. In our society, losing no longer means dying of hunger. In a way it's not having the right to move around; it's being under house arrest."

Judged by this yardstick, Tapic is probably much closer to defeat than he has ever been.

(February 5)

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

AKE a stroll through down-

town Sofia, and pick through

the wreckage of Europe's

Stop by the little state-run bakery

on Slivnitsa Boulevard, where 40

people are jostling for bread at 9:45 in the morning. They're too late; the

last loaves sold out 5 minutes ago.

There's been a flour shortage since

government officials allowed some

of their buddies to buy up much of

Bulgaria's bumper grain crop for a

Cross the street to Tsetska Dragumirova's meat and cheese

shop. No line here - the shelves

have been empty for a week. And don't hold your breath for deliver-

ies, the proprietor says. With the

government penniless and its cur-

rency collapsing, prices are chang-ing by the hour, and suppliers are

Around the corner at St. Parask-

ieva Church, more than 100 elderly

people bundled up against the cold have shuffled inside by 11:30am for

free sandwiches and a bowl of soup.

inflation, fueled by fat state subsi-

dies for influential industrialists and

bankers, has decimated retirees'

"I've never been hungry before," said Violeta Ivanova, 79, a retired

seamstress whose monthly pension

is now worth about \$2. Like many

Bulgarians, she lived comfortably, i

not in luxury, before the economy

buying power.

100 jumpy to sell at my price.

pittance last year and sell it at a

huge profit abroad.

Madagascar's dictator back as democrat

Jean-Pierre Langellier In Tananarive

DIDIER RATSIRAKA made a spectacular comeback when he was re-elected president of Madagascar on January 31. He also got his own back on Albert Zafy, the man who had easily beaten him in the 1993 presidential elections following 18 years of Ratsiraka's rule. The result this time was close, however; in the second round of polling only 45,000 votes out of more than 3 million separated the two men.

Ratsiraka's victory represents a true resurrection for the architect of Madagascar's "second independence" in 1975. His authoritarian and corrupt brand of socialism was to bankrupt the nation by the mideighties. He then switched - but too late - to a combination of economic liberalism and political

During eight months of strikes and demonstrations, which culminated in the massacre of several dozen people in front of the presidential palace in August 1991, Madagascans repeatedly called for Ratsiraka to go. Following a rout in

"King Didier" owes his comeback to the blunders of "the Professor". Zafy, a respected physician but a political amateur, was not cut out for high office. His three years in power were synonymous with incompetence, and the corruption he had promised to stamp out thrived more than ever. He was impeached

Nicole Pope in Istanbu

by a state security court.

OVER the past year a group of 16 high-school pupils from the western Turkish town of Manisa

have been through a Kafkaesque

nightmare. Their ordeal culminated

on January 10, with 10 of them

peing sentenced to heavy jail terms

Fulya Apaydin was only 17 when

police picked her up at her home on December 26, 1995, to ask her a few

questions. She spent most of the

next 11 days blindfolded and forced

to listen to the screams of her

school friends — including her younger sister, Munire, who had

been arrested at school that

same day - in the room next to her

She covers her ears with her

hands as she remembers those

sounds, which were "not human",

ing how it took months before she

could bring herself to tell her family

and lawyer about the sexual harass-

Unlike Fulya, who was released

after her first round of questioning

and later acquitted, Ozgir Zeybek,

now 17, has already spent four and a

half months in prison after being

subjected to electric shocks. If his

appeal is rejected, he will have to

serve his full 30-month sentence.

The 10 teenagers sentenced were

given a total of 76 years in jail, with

consisted of confessions they

five of them getting 12½ years each.

The only evidence against them | "No to fee-paying schools", which

signed after allegedly being sub- train and on a factory wall.

ment she suffered.



Caliback . . . Ratsiraka gets news during the first round of

Ratsiraka's return to power comes at an auspicious monient. The International Monetary Fund has offered Madagascar a structural adjustment facility, and the signs are that repayments of its foreign debt, totalling about \$5 billion, will be rescheduled. But the new president, whose campaign platform con-tained a grandiose, if rather woolly, plan for a "humanist and ecological republic", faces several problems. Among these is the fact that his eyesight is poor, and that only one in four Madagascans voted for him.

iected to torture and psychological

Their lawyer, Pelin Erda, explains

that everyone's political leanings are common knowledge in Manisa.

She describes Fulya, Ozgur and the

rest as being "progressive, demo-cratic and open" in an idealistic way.

Several belong to the Social Demo-

cratic Party's youth wing. Others are musicians who sing political

Recently Manisa got a new secu-

rity chief. He had been transferred

from Bingöl, in southeastern Anato-

lia, where security forces often

clash with rebels belonging to the Kurdish Workers' Party (PKK).

Even in quiet Manisa, the new

security chief saw enemies of the

state everywhere and was deter-

mined to rid the town of them. "Peo-

ple like him regard anyone with

leftwing or pacifist ideas as an anar-

That is how the teenagers, the

youngest of whom was only 14,

came to be blamed for a few minor

incidents that had taken place in

Manisa over the previous months.

Police say a hairdresser's salon was

burnt down after a Molotov cocktail

was thrown at it. The fact that the

fire service's own investigation and

evidence given by the owner sug-

gested the fire was accidental was

apparently not taken into account.

such as "Down with fascism", and

And then there were the slogans,

allegedly had been daubed on a trial were known.

member of parliament, Sabri Ergül.

Turkish schoolchildren tell of brutality

Above all, Ratsiraka will have to respect the institutions of Madagascar's third republic, which provide for the prime minister to play a decisive role in government. Ratsiraka wants to change the constitution through a referendum. Whether he will suc ceed is another matter; the Mada gascans will certainly not wish to be divested of the advantages of democracy, which, after several weeks of suspense following a neckand-neck election, has passed its first real test with flying colours. (February 2-3)

Allegations of maltreatment were

corroborated by the evidence of Ergil and Erda, who visited the se-

curity headquarters to see Erda's

brother after his arrest, After a long

wait in the anti-terrorist section, she

staggering along between two

policemen at the end of a long

Ergül faced an even more chilling

spectacle when, after hearing

screams, which were immediately

drowned by martial music, he

opened a door. "I saw two girls and

two boys, all stark naked. The girls

was lying on the ground, the other

girl on the ground, and two or three

unsatisfactory circumstances, only

mention a bruise or two. But the

evidence given by Ergül, Erda and

some of the arrested youngsters'

parents leaves little doubt that the

Proceedings were eventually

brought against the 10 Manisa

policemen, though they were not

suspended while awaiting the

court's ruling. What is surprising, to

say the least, is that the security.

court, a special semi-military body

should have shown such alacrity is

sentencing the Manisa youngsters.

before the results of the policemen's

(February 1)

teenagers were badly treated.

public prosecutor in court.

scope of the tax authorities. The statistics ministry says that eastern Ukraine reaps the benefit of the metallurgical and chemical exports that account for 60 per cent of the country's foreign currency earnings. Another less official explanation points to the penetration of the Ukrainian economy by large Russian corporations such as Gazprom, the Russian "state within was shattered to see her brother

Gazprom, which controls one-third of the world's gas reserves, is one of the main instruments used by Russia in its "near abroad" policy. Its main partner in Ukraine is the Dnepropetrovsk-based Unified Energy Systems (UES). Yulia Timoshenko, aged 36, who heads the company, is a "close collaborator" - and rumoured stooge - of the rime minister, Pavel Lazarenko. A ormer governor of Dnepropetrovsk, azarenko has been tipped by the local press to become the country's next president. His regular unofficial visits to Moscow are the subject

UES, a monopolistic structure se up by Lazarenko in December 1996. is a consortium of importers of Russian gas that controls the distribution n one-third of Ukraine, Its profits, ts Moscow connections and details of its relationship with Gazprom are

Ukraine depends almost entirely on Russia for its energy. But it also benefits from the revenues, backhanders and other "deals" involved n the transit of 130 billion cubic metres of Russian gas through Ukrainian territory on its way to central and western Europe.

In Dnepropetrovsk almost noth-

Ukraine banks on its natural assets

Natalie Nougayrède

in Dnepropetrovsk finds Russian gas powering more than the economy

HE PEOPLE of Dnepropetrovsk, in eastern Ukraine, have not renounced their Soviet past or historical links with neighbouring Russia. The local clite is much the same as it was a few years ago — mostly Russian-speaking, often Russian-educated, and fiercely defensive of its own interests, which are generally seen as involving "close collaboration" with 'our most reliable partner", Russia.

But if Dnepropetrovsk is where Leonid Brezhnev was born, it is also the home town of the Ukrainian president, Leonid Kuchma. Under his rule, slogans such as "friendship between peoples" have been replaced by talk of "trading relations according to international practice". The luxury boutiques, flashy restaurants and well-protected banks that line Karl Marx Avenue may be unique in Ukraine and only affordable to the privileged classes, but they reflect an undoubted business

"Dnepropetrovsk is a model for the whole of Ukraine," says Gennady Gniedash, who runs a bureau for company and market infrastructure development". The city is awash with money. But if you ask where it all comes from, most people remain tight-lipped. Gniedash says more than 50 per cent of the economy is underground and falls outside the

were young and had long hair. One standing. There were three or four plainclothes policemen round the round the standing one," he told the The medical reports on the of much speculation, and he is re-

described as a trade secrets.

ing gets done without "gas money" UES has enabled Ukraine's thirdlargest city to build itself a new international airport, with regular flights to Vienna and Frankfurt and planned connections with the Arab

UES likes to see itself as a caring employer - this diverts attention from the nersonal fortunes some executives have reportedly stashed away in foreign banks. It has helped fund the building of a metro, the purchase of trans, a hospital and a

The election of UES's managing director to parliament in December was a formality. "During the run-up to the byelection in Kirovabad di trict, where companies had pay arrears going back several months Timoshenko got everyone's salary paid," says a local journalist. "It was only logical she should pick up 90 per cent of the vote."

The "barons" of eastern Ukraine are gaining political clout. According to a member of parliament: "One minister in two belongs to the clan." But the clan is also riven by Lazarenko may be ousted by President Kuchma suggest that his hold on the premiership is not as strong as it might seem.

But few apart from the national-



Russian business circles interconnect, "I believe Ukraine's independence process in irreversible says a Dnepropetrovsk business man. In his view, the verbal jousting between Kiev and Moscow over the rimean port of Sebastopol (the Russian military base in southern Ukraine) is simply a case of people upping the aute in a situation produced by the battle to succeed Boris Yeltsin. "The real issue lies elsewhere: Russia has an economic in terest in the stability of the Ukraine; as a market for its product transit zone for its gas." However, one statistic puzzles

dered money from Russia.

(January 30)

Le Monde

Directeur: Jean-Marie Colombani

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local government officials: the biggest investor in the region and the one that accounts for 24 per cent of all foreign capital invested - is Cyprus, a major outlet for laun-

> who asked not to be identified, Zaire began its counter-offensive, with help from several hundred mercenaries, after the rebel force, rebel movements prompted interna-

tic Forces for the Liberation of city on Friday last week, fearing mpending violence.
But at least as important is the Congo-Zaire, swept through several key towns and cities in eastern

Zaire in eight weeks. During that mineral-rich province of Shaba, period, the rebel troops, believed to number several thousand, shut several camps of Rwandan refugees between late October and mid-November, sending at least 600,000 scrambling home.

The rebels, whose leader Laurent Kabila says his goal is to overthrow Mobutu, called for negotiations, but largely failed. Government troops, who make the equivalent of 50 cents per month, frequently flee as rebels approach, as was apparently the case twice last week when the this long-troubled nation, the sec- rebels took the towns of Shabunda

> You can't ream the diplomat said. "A war is when two sides are engaging each other. Right now the government soldiers imply are not fighting."

If that continues, government worries about the inuninent fall of Kisangani and the province of Shaba may be well founded, Kisangani, in north-central Zaire, is the base of the counter-offensive. It has one of the few airports in eastern Zaire and is located along the strategically important Zaire River.

Diplomats and aid, workers say they believe the rebels may take Kisangani within days. Indeed,

participated in schemes to bleed fac-

tories of their assets, banks of their

deposits and citizens of their sav-

The Washington Post

Bulgaria Slides Into Economic Collapse

seven years. Its media, including television, have evolved in a more or less unfettered direction. The country was the first in the region to adopt a new constitution, and not a drop of blood was spilled in the course of its emergence from behind the Iron Curtain. But Bulgaria's shuffle toward

Corruption, mismanagement and insider deals have plagued virtually

every formerly socialist country in

Eastern Europe since the fall of the

esson in how not to manage the

economic transition from socialism.

Bulgaria, a country of 8.4 million

people, is in a league of its own, ac-

cording to economists and foreign

observers who have studied the

Unlike the region's more authori-

tarian outposts, such as Yugoslavia and Albania, Bulgaria has had seven

reasonably free and fair elections in

country's financial free-fall.

democracy has not been matched by a comparable move toward a free-market economy. Its transition was choreographed by Communist elites who changed their name, calling themselves socialists, but who clung to power and to old ideas. The government, run or con-

trolled by former Communists for five of the last seven years, has refused to sell off huge, moneylosing state enterprises or to turn the country's fertile agricultural land over to private farmers.

"The socialists feared capitalism. because it means the creation of autonomous centers of power," said began its nose dive a year ago. "But it's getting harder and harder.

There's almost nothing I can afford."

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Instead, the government has ings, economists say. With no no-pumped out credits to sustain state tion of who owns what agricultural enterprises, or has had state-controlled banks extend loans that no low, and the countryside is dotted one ever expected to be repaid. It with destitute collective farms. has tolerated, encouraged and even

ploded into popular outrage last month, when previously quiescent Bulgarians poured into the streets

business to a halt, the Socialists. The resulting economic crisis exwho lack the kind of fiercely loval police and media that have sustained President Slobodan Milosevic in neighboring Serbia, cried uncle last power to a caretaker governmen until new elections in mid-April

which they are unlikely to win. "We'd better celebrate now because we have very hard days nhead," said Ivan Kostov, leader o the opposition United Democratic Forces. No one here would disagree. Almost nothing in the economy is on firm footing right

to demand that the governing So-cialist Party, as the Communists are now known, leave power now rather than when their four-year term

After a month of mostly peaceful

daily protests that paralyzed Sofia

and brought much of the country's

expires at the end of 1998.

Restaurants post their prices on wild swings in the value of the currency. Government controls have kept the price of a liter of gasoline cheaper than in Saudi Arabia, but the policy has bankrupted the oil refinery and caused severe gas shortages and long lines at the pump.

Bulgarians and foreign observers single out the Socialist government of Prime Minister Zhan Videnov, which has held power since December 1994, as largely to blame for the morass, "No political force is above suspicion, but under Videnov the corruption was carried to a new and particularly ugly art form," a West-ern diplomat in Sofia said.

Ordinary households at the bottom of the economic food chain have been left to pay the bill. By some estimates, nearly half the children in Bulgaria are undernourished.

Rebels Gain Ground in Eastern Zaire

Stephen Buckley In Goma

AIRIAN rebel forces captured Lor moved toward several key cities and towns in castern Zairo over the past week in what may be a decisive turn in their guerrilla war against President Mobutu Sesc Seko's government in Kinshasa.

The rebels' moves toward Kisangani, Zaire's fourth largest city, and their taking of Kalemie, in the strategic province of Shaba, have alarmed the Zahrian government, which announced a counter-offensive against the rebels a month ago but has little to show for it.

The rebel advances came in the fourth month of a conflict that many fear could explode into a regional war or lead to further dissolution of ond largest in sub-Saharan Africa.

started its campaign in late October, says it controls at least 600 miles of territory along Zaire's eastern border with Uganda, Rwanda and Burundi, Although government officials publicly have disputed rebel claims in recent days, downplaying or deny-ing reports of rebel advances in eastern Zaire, privately Zairian government forces "are very worried,". said one diplomat in the region. They are describing the situation as very grave," added the diplomat,

as the Alliance of Democrational relief workers to evacuate the as rebel troops approached.

home to Kabila. Shaba, in southeast Zaire, is a semi-autonomous region, after two rebellions during the 1970s. If the rebels take Lubumbash they will control about one-third o Zaire, The fall of Lubumbashi would be the regime's "worst nightmare,"

one political analyst said. Some analysts said the fall Mobutu, called for negotiations over the government rejected the over-tures. Instead, the Zairian army has tures. Instead, the Zairian army has tures. Instead, the Zairian army has tures and the sound compet the government to negotiate with the rebels. But some diplomats said they fear that if Shaba falls, the province will cement its split from Zaire, heightening the sense of chaos that per-vades the country generally, and

eastern Zaire in particular. The rebels' apparent successes reportedly have prompted the African nations to aid them by sending troops, Diplomats say the regime has sought help from Egypt, logo and Morocco. Egypt and Togo have denied that Zaire made such a request. Mobutu, who returned to Zaire on Friday last week after med ical tests in France, stopped in Morocco before coming home but

denies that he asked for troops. -

Meanwhile, the conflict has hurt aid workers' efforts to help between 200,000 and 300,000 Rwandan refugees remaining in eastern Zaire. Relief agencies reported last week that tens of thousands of refugees scattered from their camps | when then Secretary of State

Africa Force Plan Revised

Thomas W. Lippman

TEARLY six months after force to intervene in that continent's trouble spots, a chastened Clinton administration has revised the plan to meet African demands for more decisionmaking power and overcome French resistance.

Since President Clinton approved the original plan several crises have erupted in Africa — in Zaire, in Sudan and in the Central African Republic — but any U.S.-sponsored force is still many months away from deployment, according to administration officials and European and African diplomata.

The proposed Africa Crisis Response Force, or ACRF, "is alive and moving, very much so," one senior official said, but our original timetable was overly aggressive."

That timetable called for up to 10.000 African troops to be designated: trained, equipped and prepared for deployment well before the end of this year. So far, however, only two countries have designated military " units for potential participation and training has not yet begun,

Mali and Ethiopia declared their willingness to participate Warren Christopher visited

Africa in October. According to administration officials and foreign diplomats, many other African countries have endorsed the concept in principle, and several European allies have

agreed to support it.
But the original U.S. plan, hastily devised in anticipation of an explosion of violence in Burundi that has so far not occurred, failed to take into account African sensitivities about decisions made by outsiders, several sources said.

Fledgling regional groups within Africa, such as the 12member Southern Africa Development Committee, wanted an official voice in deciding when and where an intervention force might be needed, who should be in it and what its assignment should be, and the United States is prepared to accommodate them, several sources said.

Such an arrangement would move the U.S. vision of the force closer to that of France, which has been reluctant to support what it sees as an effort to muscle in on what has traditionally been a French zone of influence.

"We ourselves would like to have further consultations with our members before we announce our ideas about it." said Ahmed Haggag, deputy secretary general of the Organization of African Unity. "Sub-groups such as the SADC have their own blueprints about conflict resolution."



GLARDIAN WEEKLY

William Branigin

THE NUMBER of illegal immi-

grants residing permanently in

the United States has grown to about

5 million and is rising by 275,000 a

year, the Immigration and Natural-ization Service said last week.

In what federal officials called

their most accurate calculation over

of illegal immigration, the INS

estimated that this population has

increased by 28 percent in the past

four years alone. According to the

new analysis, illegal immigrants

now account for nearly 2 percent of

HE CONTINUED demand

States that a record share of the

population over age 15 - nearly

for workers has been so

strong across the United

the total U.S. population.

John M. Berry

the INS reported.

largely "inherited" from previous administrations. He said that over the

past two decades, "a lack of re-

sources and attention allowed illegal

immigration to flourish," but that the

administration now has an effective

The illegal immigrant population is heavily concentrated in certain

regions of the country. California

tops the list with 40 percent of the

total. Texas accounts for 14.1 per-

cent and New York has 10.8 percent,

A majority of the illegal inunigrant population, 2.7 million or 54 percent,

came from Mexico the INS said.

The countries with the next highest

shares were El Salvador, Guatemala.

"multiyear strategy" to cope with it.

William Booth and William Claiborne in Santa Monica

■ N A STUNNING financial punishment that exceeded even the . plaintiffs' expectations, the civil trial jury that last week blamed O.J. Simpson for the murders of his exwife and her friend on Monday ordered him to pay the victims' families \$25 million in punitive damages.

That award, bringing the combined total of compensatory and punitive damages to \$33.5 million, could leave the fallen football star, sportscaster and television pitchman with a lifetime of debt unless it is reduced or thrown out on appeal,

The six-man, six-woman, mostly white jury deliberated for just over five hours before reaching its splitvote damages verdicts against Simpson, who was acquitted in 1995 of the 1994 deaths of Nicole Brown Simpson and Ronald Goldman.

Without identifying themselves by name, eight jurors and alternates told a news conference that the evidence against Simpson had ranged from "above a preponderance" -the civil trial standard — to "beyond a reasonable doubt." A white woman juror, said: "It was 100 percent for me. I really believed Mr. Simpson was guilty. We went through all the evidence, and it had nothing to do with Mr. Simpson's skin."

The jury voted 10 to 2 to award Goldman's family \$12.5 million, far more than legal experts had expected because of the \$8.5 million in compensatory damages already awarded to the family last week, when Simpson was unanimously held liable for the deaths. The jury also allotted \$12.5 million to Nicole Simpson's estate, whose beneficiaries include her two children now living in O.J. Simpson's custody.

The jury voted 11 to 1 on whether to award punitive damages to each of the families and 10 to 2 on the awarding damages was a Jamaican- the highest ever returned against an

OPINION

the affirmative.

William Raspberry

OME random thoughts in the

wake of OJ II: As far as I'm con-

cerned, the debate over TV cameras

in the courtroom is settled — for

I know there are those who

thought the presence of TV cam-

eras pushed the lawyers and the

judge in the criminal trial to ridicu-lous extremes of nitpicking and re-

- even if their very best sometimes

wasn't good enough. But that's not

the only reason for my conclusion

that television ought to be allowed

in the courtrooms most of the time.

The big reason is the educational

It was impossible for a nonlawyer

to watch OJI without learning

motions, admissibility, leading ques-

value of seeing it yourself.

born man who also has Asian ancestry. He and a white woman in her wenties voted against the amount of the awards.

Almost all the jurors who spoke to reporters, with the exception of one black woman who served as an alternate, said they did not find Simpson to be a credible witness when he took the stand in his own defense. One white male juror said, "I had trouble believing what he was telling me. It seemed like he was just waiting to get the questions done" before denying the allegations against him.

The jurors said they had considered the plaintiffs' allegations that police had planted evidence against Simpson and had uniformly rejected them. Several of the panelists said they attached considerable importance to DNA blood evidence and the bloody glove found by police behind Simpson's estate the night of the murders, but that their conclusion that Simpson committed the murders was based on the accumulation of circumstantial evidence.

Daniel Petrocelli, the lead plain tiffs' lawyer, said: "It was critical to expose that he wasn't telling the truth ... We all felt it was absolutely essential to call O.J. Simpson a killer — to treat him like a killer if we wanted the jury to conclude that he was." Petrocelli said his strategy was to try "a tight case" and put on as many police witnesses as possi-ble, thereby forcing Simpson to contradict them all.

Simpson was not in the courtroom when the verdicts were read. However, Simpson's friend and spokesman, attorney Leo Terrell, angrily told reporters: "This verdict is illegal. This verdict was wrong. You can't award more money under punitive damages than the man has." Terrell said the law is clear in its intent to punish and not destroy a

The punitive damages is one of

Are we really as racially riven a

society as reaction to the two Simp-

son trials suggests? Listen well, be-

cause I may be the only one who believes it: I don't think so.

I know that from the very first

linking of Simpson to the murders

of his ex-wife Nicole and her friend

Ron Goldman, black and white America went bipolar. And they

stayed that way right to the end,

with about two-thirds of whites

Naturally whites thought Simp-

son's acquittal was a miscarriage of

justice and blacks thought the civil

trial - a private suit for money dam-

But what we saw may have been

racial only in the sense that blacks,

based on bitter experience, are less

interested veracity of white police

deal about the strengths of our legal | tended to) that some of the evi- | ies for their geographic or racial or

well as its weaknesses (including | hard time finding reasonable doubt. | ing it legitimate to vote our group

the fact that you have to have I That doesn't necessarily make us a land not our consciences.

ages - the "system's" attempt to

have a second bite at the apple.

Justice on TV in Black and White

dundancy. Maybe. But it also certain Simpson was guilty and two-

something about the law - about | likely than whites to assume the dis-

tions, relevance. We learned a good officers. If you thought (as blacks

system (for instance, the safeguards | dence against Simpson was proba-

built in to protect the accused) as | bly planted, then you don't have a

prompted them to do their very best | thirds of blacks doubting it



O.J. Simpson leaves the Santa Monica courthouse after being found lable on all counts in his civil trial last week

individual. A Bronx jury last year ordered \$25 million in punitive damages and \$18 million in compensatory damages against Bernhard Goetz, who shot four black youths in a subway car.

Simpson can appeal - and i almost certain to do so - to stay the award, since the amount is far higher even than what the plaintiffs claimed Simpson is worth. But if Simpson does appeal, he will have to post a bond of one and a half times the total judgments. Unless he files such a bond, the plaintiffs can almost immediately seek to attach Simpson's assets. Legal experts said the post-trial motions and appeals could take years to resolve.
Filing for bankruptcy is another

divided society. But it does make

you nervous about the fact that the

civil jury that found unanimously

against Simpson didn't have any -

well, hardly any — black people on

it. Unlike the mostly black criminal

jury that voted unanimously to acquit, this one had nine whites, one

Hispanic, one Asian American and a

Jamaican immigrant who described

But who's counting? Well, of

course we all are. And doesn't that

refute my notion that we are not as

racially riven as some of us think? I

acknowledgement that the near-

total absence of blacks on a jury

considering a case with significant

The obvious "solution" is to make

sure that juries are, to the extent

practicable and in all racially con-

flicted cases, representative of the

larger community. The danger is

that formally requiring such repre-

sentation could lead individual

jurors to suppose that they are prox-

ethnic groups, not seekers of truth.

Woe betide us if we ever start think-

racial implications is a problem.

himself as black and Asian.

option for Simpson, but it would not allow him to avoid his debts. Such a filing could, however, allow Simpson to put the plaintiffs in line behind his creditors, including his attorney, who placed a lien on the defendant's mansion in fashionable Brentwood to secure his payment. Judge Hiroshi Fujisaki ordered

he damage awards stayed for 10 days while post-trial motions are filed. In instructing the jury on the punitive damages, Fujisaki had said three principal elements should be considered: reprehensibility in Simpson's conduct, the deterrent effect of any judgment and the need for a reasonable relationship between the award and the injuries suffered by the victims.

As it now stands, the unavoidable shorthand is that a black jury acquitted Simpson and a white jury

doing so destroyed his credibility.

proof and reversible error.

seen it for ourselves. On TV:

convicted him, on pretty much the same evidence. It wasn't just the same old evidence. There were, of course, the in-famous Bruno Magli shoes. But more importantly, there was Simpson himself. His insistence that he never struck his ex-wife, his explanation that the bruises on her face (which she apparently had photographed as evidence of his battering) resulted from her picking at pimples, or some such. Virtually every black person I know said it was a mistake

for Simpson to deny everything, that I can't prove it; it probably won't show up in the polls for a while, and it may not even be so. But my guesa is that black America is not nearly as convinced as it was before of

Simpson's innocence. The reports It's no coincidence that the of the civil proceedings have had once-promised and presumed their effect - at least on those who freedoms of the medium are befollowed the news accounts. Maybe coming more difficult to safewe also know a bit more than we did guard at the same time. A about such things as burdens of cyberspace population that can muster legal action from 36 I just think we'd have learned a states is not the anarchic, Wildlot more — and perhaps even had a West-style one that started out bit more faith in the integrity of our judicial system — if we could have into the medium's wide open

Hooked on

EDITORIAL

ation evinced by AOL subscribers who couldn't get into

The prevailing urgency was reflected in the prompt legal

The traffic jam and ensuing panic are evidence that at least part of the visionaries' notion of a completely "wired" world has come to pass. Alas, it's not the part of the vision where every one has instant access to everyone else via cyberspace - that's yet to come - but rather the part where those who have that access are completely dependent on it and cannot imagine life without the capability to access their e-mail.

AOL, of course, has ever reason in the world to nurius that feeling of dependence rather than case it - otherwise there's no future for the product. But in the awkward phase that has come to be tagged as "early adoption" of a technology - in which that technology is chang ing patterns of work and comintinication, last without ye being able to offer the reliability that would make such changeover safe — it and other service providers have a tricky

It's nearly impossible to gaug how many of the AOL customer who were inconvenienced in last month's jam-ups are truly dependent on the new technology for their practical livelihood and how many are merely dependent

on it psychologically for social interactions (as in the familiar case of college students on vacation, who have been observed suffering massive withdrawa when they leave their wired dorm rooms for the primitive facilities of home).

What is clear, though, is that even if the online population is still small, made up of the so-called "early adopters" use of a new tool before the bugs relating to it are ironed out the phase of Internet exploration is over during which those colonizers had cheerfully low expec-

spaces.

Information Highway

N THE chaotic aftermath of America Online's attempt to offer 8 million subscribers un limited time online for a flat fee. the real novelty that is worth noting is not the lawsuits or the busy signals but the raw desper-

action brought by no fewer than 36 state attorney generals with whom the online service provider ended up negotiating a settlement. It also showed in the alacrity with which AOL - for the third time in a year - went about trying to mollify its infuriated customers with promises of

> two-thirds - had a job last month, the Labor Department reported last The search by employers for both skilled and unskilled workers has drawn so many people into the job market that over the past year the size of the labor force has increased twice as fast as the population itself. Last month, for instance, so many people began looking for jobs that the unemployment rate edged up to

This unanticipated surge in work ers provided enough additional labor last year that the economy was able to grow much more rapidly than more forecasters had expected without causing the unemployment rate to plunge sharply. Had that hap-pened, the Federal Reserve likely would have raised interest rates to cool off the economy to keep inflation under control.

Beyond this already rapid growth in the labor force, the department revised its estimate of the work force upward by another nearly half a million workers last month based on new population data from the Census Bureau regarding the num ber and age of recent immigrants to the United States. Most of the added workers were of Hispanic origin.

DRESIDENT Clinton will mee

Yeltsin next month in Helsinki for a

summit designed to allay Moscow's

lears about the expansion of NATO,

The rotating schedule of meet-

ings between Clinton and Yeltsin

calls for their next session to be in

two-day summit, beginning on

March 20, was moved to the Finnish

capital to make the travel less taxing

for Yeltsin, who is recovering from

Clinton, speaking with reporters

before an Oval Office meeting with

Russian Prime Minister Viktor

Chernomyrdin, said he hopes when

he meets with Yeltsin to make it

heart surgery.

Washington, but the location for the

incement that had been

with Russian President Boris

John F. Harris and

Michael Dobbs

labor force reached 135.9 million, that would happen again this year, 128.6 million of whom had full- or based on the formula used. That part-time jobs while 7.3 million peoboosted the reported payroll inple were looking for work but had crease by approximately 75,000, not found it. That meant that 63.6 ome analysts estimated. percent of the nation's population On the other hand, last month's

up the U.S. Border Patrol, Congress | Congress granted amnesty to nearly

ons, held jobs. Meanwhile, the Labor report also said that the number of payroll jobs continued to rise strongly last nonth. Employers added 271,000 obs, after seasonal adjustment, pringing the increase since January 1996 to almost 3 million.

over age 15, not including those in

institutions such as hospitals or pris-

Illegal Resident Population Increasing, INS Says

about the strategy of Congress and

the Clinton administration to throw

the great bulk of resources at the

southwestern border with Mexico in

efforts to combat illegal immigration.

According to the INS study, 41

percent of the illegal resident popula

tion, or 2.1 million people, originally

entered the country legally at air-

ports and other entry points but then

overstayed their visas. Of the net in-

crease in the illegal population of

are visa overstayers, the INS said.

Labor Surge Sets Jobs Record

275,000 a year, about 125,000 a year

Yet, while dramatically beefing

A good number of the jobs gained - 82,000 — were with temporary help agencies. Other areas of growth included business services. such as computer and data process ing, along with health services. Manufacturing payrolls, which de clined sharply in the first part of last year, rose by 18,000, the sixth consecutive monthly gain.

Both department officials and pri

vate analysts said it was more diffi cult than usual to interpret what the January payroll gain may indicate about the course of the economy because it was noticeably affected both by severe winter weather around the country last month, and by both severe weather and the federal government shutdown in Janury a year ago.

Last year's shutdown and bad reather affected the number through the seasonal adjustment process. So many people lost jobs in anuary 1996 that it was anticipated

Clinton and Yeltsin to Meet in Helsinki Washington last week between Vice President Al Gore and Cherno-

of providing any increased threat to the security of Russia." The 16-member North Atlantic Treaty Organization, an alliance formed to thwart feared aggression in Europe by the Soviet Union after World War II, will meet in Madrid in the administration said last week in | July to Invite three Warsaw Pact delayed for weeks because of con- while officially undecided, are cerns about the Russian leader's Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, U.S. officials said.

clear that no one has any intention

The planned expansion is provoking a strongly negative response in Russia, where leaders warn that many people will interpret it as a provocative gesture that could make Russian cooperation in arms control and other areas more difficult. The administration has said it is trying to ease those fears by having NATO negotiate a new security charter

with Russia. This was among the principal issues, administration officials said, dominating three days of talks in I time, we say, Do not rush things."

bad weather tended to depress hiring, particularly in construction trades, Labor officials said. Even more significantly, the weather was blamed for most of a large drop in the length of the average workweek to 34.1 hours from 34.8 hours. That lecline meant that even with more workers on the jobs, the total numper of hours worked fell 1.7 percent – which means that as yet unre ported statistics such as industrial production and personal incomes robably also fell last month.

The new figure raised questions | did not appropriate funds for a rela- | 3 million illegal aliens. The act was

tively modest addition of 300 investi-

gators to ferret out visa overstayers

"Congress and the administration

. remembered the policemen and

orgot the detectives," complained

NS special agent Robert A. Mc-

Graw in a recent article in the Fed-

eral Law Enforcement Officers

According to advocates of lower

immigration levels, the new esti-mate of illegal immigrants also rep-

resents a failure of the 1986

immigration reform act in which

inside the country.

Association journal.

Analysts said that with these disortions, it could take another two nonths' worth of data before forecasters get a solid handle on the course of the economy for the first

"We believe that the 'true' under lying rate of job growth is indeed below the 200,000 per month range," said Bruce Steinberg. macroeconomics manager at Mer-rill Lynch & Co. in New York. If the labor force should grow 2 percent again this year as it did in 1996. payrolls could actually grow by 250,000 per month with a steady

unemployment rate," he said. Steinberg and a number of other nnalysts said that the report "raised the odds that the Fed will hold pollcy steady at the March 25 [policy-

myrdin. The two men meet semian

nually on trade, arms control and

At a news conference, Cherno

myrdin said Yeltsin, who has not

been carrying out a regular work

schedule for months, is neverthe-

the necessary issues. The president

is active politically, he meets at the

highest level, and he does every-

thing that he has to do in the coun-

try . . . But he needs some time to

Chernomyrdin said adding new

members to NATO would inflame

public opinion in Russia against the

West and "will make the situation in

Europe more complicated." But he

repeated his view that, over time, the

disagreement can be resolved amica-

bly. He said he expects "a serious,

legally binding document between

NATO and Russia. But at the same

other security issues.

completely recover."

Simply the best health insurance money can buy

intended to clamp off future illegal

immigration, but it failed to deal

effectively with unauthorized em-

ployment and to remove the "job

magnet" that draws people to this

country, these advocates complain.

The illegal population has now

reached the level that it was before

the 1986 amnesty," said Mark Kriko-

In announcing the new estimate,

Robert Bach, the INS executive as-

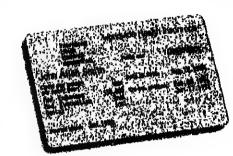
sociate commissioner for policy and

planning, described the illegal

immigrant population as a problem

rian, director of the Center fo

Immigration Studies.



Over the years International Health Insurance danmark a/s has incorporated all the elements demanded by people who, when it comes to matters of health, ··· · / need the ultimate protection. By listening to our clients, and

closely monitoring all their health needs when they're away from home, we are able to respond with plans to suit each and every individual. Get more information about the most important card in your and your family's life - fill out the coupon today and discover how the world's best health insurance can help you to face the future with confidence.

The card that gives credit to your health

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By Douglas Farah

HE Rev. Oscar Perez surveved his parish church with obvious pride, as dozens of people sat in small groups to discuss the Bible before breaking up to

"Our situation has changed from one of a certain degree of confrontation with the state to being much more open," the Roman Catholic priest said, sitting on a bare wooden pew, amid the cacophony of voices of Bible classes, 'Things have changed enormously. Everyone used to try to hide their faith. Now you can see they practice it openly."

After decades of hostility, relations between the Roman Catholic Church and Cuba's government are undergoing the most profound change since the 1959 revolution led by Fidel Castro, Church workers and diplomats say a new tolerance for religious activity and social programs represents the most likely means in 36 years of introducing elements of change in the rigid Marxist system.

Nothing symbolized the change n relations more graphically than Castro's audience with Pope John Paul II at the Vaticaa late last year and the decision to allow the pontiff to visit the island in January 1998.

"Two years ago, the visit would have been a real risk," a Latin American diplomat said, "Now the risk is

Diplomats and government officials say the papal visit offers Castro a potential payoff. The pontiff has spoken out strongly against the 34year-old U.S. economic embargo against the island and recent measures such as the Helms-Burton Act, which strengthen and

A sentor government official, calling Helms-Burton — which seeks to penalize companies that do business with Cuba - "an act of war," said: "Any atties we have in that war are welcome, and the pope has been

national ties, moral authority and organization across Cuba, has in many ways displaced the small, divided groups of political dissidents who have been pushing for broad politi-

The dissidents lose their importance if there is a dialogue with the principal moral force in the counry," said the European diplomat.

The church is a growing power, not only because of its surging membership but also because it is providing medical and food aid. Caritas, the Catholic charity operating here since 1992, has distributed about \$7 million in aid during each of the last two years. Much of the aid is in medical supplies that help keep the nation's yaunted health care program from fraying further. In Perez's church on the out-

skirts of Havana, in a working-class neighborhood, 70 people are taking classes in preparation for their first Communion, and the pews are almost always full — something Perez said was unthinkable just a year ago. Sales of Bibles, liymn books, religious medallions and crucifixes are at an all-time high, he

According to Catholic Church statistics, there were about 25,000 paptisms in Havana in 1989. In 1995, there were almost 36,000.

"What we are seeing is a spiritual revolution here," said Enrique Lopez Oliva, a professor of religion at the University of Havana. "The government understands that if it tries to control everything it may, in the end, lose much."

Orlando Marquez, editor of Palabra Nueva, the publication of the archdiocese of Havana, attributed the church's growth to "disappointment and disenchantment" of many people during hard times.

"People are looking for spiritual rather than material solutions," he said. "They have found the materialist offerings of socialism do not satisfy fully.

Many church leaders went Into exile after 1961, when Castro declared Cuba a Marxist-Leninist —



Faith restored . . . Church workers perceive a new tolerance for religious activity in Cuba

and therefore atheist — state. According to Shawn T. Malone, associate director of the Georgetown University Cuba Project, individual clergy were persecuted, religious services were obstructed and church property was vandalized.

But the attitude of the state gradually changed. In 1992, the constitution was amended so that Cuba was defined as a secular, not Marxist, state, and it was declared that religious believers could be party members. The government also took the unprecedented step of sanctioning the opening of the Union of Catholic Press, a group of journalists who produce church publications,

Several problems remain church-state relations. The state

does not allow "house churches, those outside church buildings, and s often slow in authorizing the construction of new churches. The state licenses the importation of church materials such as Bibles, and publishing costs set by the state make mass publication of them in-

Church leaders said they are wary but optimistic that the changes will be long-lived, that the door opened will not be so easy to

"The essence of the position of the church has not changed," said Marquez. "The church has always talked of the need for dialogue, and now we finally have a chance for serious dialogue,"

Progress in AIDS Drugs

David Brown

YEAR ago, AIDS researchers A learned that combination drug therapy for human immuno-deficiency virus (HIV) infection reduces the amount of this virus in the bloodstream to the point where it can no longer be detected by even the most sensitive tests.

At the recent Fourth Conference on Retroviruses and Opportunistic Infections in Washington, several research groups reported that "triple therapy" — three drugs, one of them usually a protease inhibitor — also greatly reduces the amount of virus in the body's widespread lymphoid tissues, which are a far larger reservol of HIV than blood.

Presentations at the conference showed that in many peo ple on triple therapy, virus counts fell more than a thousand-fold in lymph nodes, tonsils and "gut-associated lymphoid tissue." The rate at hich the virus disappears from those tissues, however, is very słow.

For that reason, several escarchers said they wouldn't onsider taking an AIDS patien off triple therapy until the person had had at least three cers of apparently successful reatment.

The best-known candidates for such a bold step are 24 mer being treated by Martin Markowitz and other physicians at the Aaron Diamond AIDS Research Center in New York. All were put on triple therapy within 90 days of infection. Eighteen remain in the study. Some have find no virus detectable in their bloodstream for close to two years. Lymphoid fissues and sensen, mother sanctuary for HIV, are being sampled in these patients.

Only if there's no evidence of virus replication in all sites and only if a patient chooses will the drugs be stopped to see if

The Education of a Publisher

Jill Ker Conway

PERSONAL HISTORY By Katherine Graham Knopi. 642pp. \$29.95

ATHARINE GRAHAM'S account of her life has something of interest for everyone. Of course it is the ultimate Washington "inside story." But much that makes this a compelling read lies far outside the Beltway. For this serious effort to make some reckoning of a long and varied life throws more light on the psychology of women, and the profound changes brought about by the women's movement, than a dozen tomes filled with psychological jargon.

The astonishing reality that Graham documents in great detail is that this woman, whose managerial talents rescued a teetering enterprise and turned it into one of this country's most powerful and admired media empires, was unaware of her managerial skills or her capacity for leadership until well into mid-life.

What Graham describes rings true for those of us old enough to remember the culture that taught women that their relationship with a man was their life. If he was troubled psychologically, drank too much, or seemed given to high-risk financial gambles, it was the wife's fault for not engineering, no matter what the odds, the perfect marriage.

Some will find it difficult to credit that even after 23 years of marriage to Philip Graham, a man with erratic mood swings, accompanied by increasingly bizarre behavior, she didn't learn enough about municdepressive illness to exercise her usa judgment about her husband's treatment. But in the late '50s and early '60s mental illness was still a dreaded family secret.

"It bothers me," she writes, "that I was so passive about the nature of Phil's illness and so accepting of Farber [his analyst] for so long. I'm not sure why I didn't insist on more of an explanation." But her training in passivity was too deep to be overcome easily, let alone to allow her to look critically and with detachment at her brilliant, manipulative, manic



Katharine Graham with her son Donald; family portraits; Philip Graham with Eugene Meyer; with President Kennedy; with Truman Capote; with Ben Bradlee COLLAGE BY RANDY MAYS

doesn't say it, he chose a place and a method of suicide that would result in the greatest possible grief to her.

In Anglo-Saxon culture, it has always been permissible for women to exhibit strength and discover managerial talent when widowed, or when the family has been struck by tragedy. So we watch with fascination the emergence of a new woman, like some brightly colored butterfly from the safe concealment of a dun-colored chrysalis, as Katharine Graham begins to take up the reins at The Washington Post

and its affiliates. Her task was made more complicated by the fact that her father - Eugene Meyer, publisher of The Post — displaying classic patriarchal attitudes, had given her husband, not his daughter, the controlling interest in The Washington Post Company.
Once this legal issue has been

successfully negotiated, the story ling my very best. Of course, in that becomes more familiar as the narral company, compared with the solution Post should publish the Pentagon Papers. To do so was to face

And, we learn, though the author | tor quickly becomes the powerful Washington figure we all know from media headlines and photographs. What makes it such pleasant rending is the opportunity Graham gives the reader to trace the process of her transformation. Occasionally the reader wonders whether her social insecurity can possibly be genuine — as. for instance, when she has her hair and makeup done by Kenneth (the "in" hairdresser of the day) before donning a Bergdorf copy of a Balmain dress to appear as guest of honor at Truman Capote's celebrated black-and-white masked ball. The shrewd Capote knew exactly who would become the important woman of the moment, but his guest still didn't. At Kenneth's, she tells us, "I was watching while he pinned curls over the beautiful Marisa Berenson's head, one by one. Finally, he got to me, and the wait was worth it. I wound up look-

phisticated beauties who blanketed the ballroom, my very best still looked like an orphan."

The choice of that word plian - is interesting because it sends the reader back to the earlier chapters of the memoir, to Graham's childhood, and her difficult elationship with her mother. Agnes Mever held her children to extremely exacting standards of leportment, expected the girls to be eautiful and socially successful, while undercutting them in any in ellectual interests they developed.

As the fourth child in the family, Katharine Graham managed to escape excessive parental notice, living in a world where she spent more time with servants than parents, unwilling to engage in any form of rivalry with a flamboyant mother who was regarded as a great beauty. Graham's resulting low self-esteem was partially remedied by an initially happy marriage, but reactivated in even more acute form when ber manipulative husband began denigrating ber before guests and efore their children.

Thus, although a reader's initial esponse to the orphan image is to isk, Just how much of the world's woman need before she feels secure?, on reflection, the image rings true. There is a Cinderella-like quality to this story, although it is one with a feminist ending, in which Cinderella triumphs and surpasses the prince in the management of af-

Once Katharine Graham is in complete control at The Washington Post — publisher as well as president of the company — the narrative picks up speed. First of all, as a senior woman executive, she had to face and deal daily with the issues women faced in an extremely sexist workplace. She tells us she was slow to learn how to deal with them in her own life, let alone how to lean on allwhite male management to change, and in public she was a defender of management from challenges of discrimination, which she now concedes were justified.

But events would not wait for her slowly developing consciousness to evolve. In late June of 1971, she was faced with conflicting advice from editorial staff and the company's lawyers about whether The Wash-

certain confrontation with the U.S. government --- because a legal decision in New York had resulted in a court order temporarily restraining the New York Times from further publication of the papers. The decision she now faced presented a textbook case of freedom of the press. What made it even more contentious for The Washington Post was that its parent company was in the process of going public, so that the decision to publish could jeopar-dize the public offering and bring harsh retribution from federal regulators. Events had conspired to make it impossible for The Post's principal owner and publisher to deny her own agency any longer. She acted decisively.

"I could tell from the passion of the editors' views that we were in for big trouble on the editorial floor if we didn't publish, . . . At the same time that the editors were saying, seriatim, 'You've got to do it.' Paul Ignatius |the president of the newspaper) was standing beside me, epeating - each time more insistently — 'Wait a day, wait a day,' . . . Frightened and tense, I took a big gulp and said, 'Go ahead, go ahead, go ahend. Let's go. Let's publish.'

ROM that point on, there could be no denying, even to herself, who was in charge. Graham's account of the Watergate affair and The Post's reporting of it shows her customary scrupulous effort to see the issues from all points of view. Her blow-by-blow account of the unfolding scandal makes gripping reading — a story only she can

There are naturally some defects in this fascinating narrative. Graham is clearly writing for historians, and takes great pains to cite the archival record fully. This laudable effort to cite the sources sometimes makes the reader wish she would just tell the story in her own incisive prose. Her understandable interest n her own passivity at earlier stages of her life undermines or downplays its central tragedy. So the reader tends to forget what a personal triumph just staying same and balanced must have been for someone experiencing the roller coaster of life with an untreated manic depres sive. Clearly it trained her to ride the roller coasters of public life with courage, but for the learning she

Audubon's Marsh in France Endangered

T OHN James Audubon, America's greatest observer, collector and neglect his studies in school so he could roam the fields and marshes around his French home town of

Every evening, according to one would return with his lunch basket birds nests, eggs and curiosities of | that serves the ports. Were that to every sort destined for the museum into which his room had already been transformed."

Audubon left Coucron and France in 1806 to make his name in the young nation across the ocean. most famously with his majestic book Birds Of America. But the marsh that first inspired his art and | sees as an ill-considered economic his vocation still clucks and twitters | development strategy and to prein the estuary of the Loire River, facdownstream from the great chateaux.

Hawk and heron, teal and lap-

many an unglamorous wetland in the great river estuaries of France, the Audubon Marsh is in danger of ecological extinction.

Nazaire, two once-great but now stagnant port cities on France's Atiantic coast, the 750-acre marsh that wraps around Coueron has been for the nasty muck drained from the laden with the spoils of the day -- | bottom of the Loire ship channel | happen, the flora and fauna that eke out a living where young Audubon played hooky would be rubbed out. The great birdman, at a guess. would be dismayed.

That is the reed at which Michel Chomienne is grasping as he seeks to protect the marsh from what he

serve it as a piece of cultural heritage. "Audubon has been completely

brush and skimpy trees. But like | States, "Yet the French are proud of their contributions to humanity's 'grandeur' and convinced of the notion of 'French genius.' Our leaders have to recognize that you can't Tucked between Nantes and St. neglect the memory of a man who brought so much to the American

Audubon was born Jean-Jacques Fougere Audubon in 1785 in what is lesignated for luture use as a dump | now Haiti. His father was a French seaman, his mother an American Creole. He was taken to France in 1789, and, growing up here by the marsh, he began to draw birds at 15. When he was 20, he emigrated to the United States. His father set hun up in business there, but Audubon soon abandoned it for full-time bird portraiture and equally tireless promotion of his work.

To draw attention to the threatened marsh, Chomienne, a Coueron resident and former Nautes-St Nazaire port authority executive, is trying to drum up a little pride in forgotten in France," Chomienne | the illustrious native son - and to said — just as his French roots are elicit the right kind of pressure

of France and the National Andubon Society of the United States,

France lags far behind its neighbors in its environmental protections, "One can say categorically that the French detest mature," French ornithologist Jean-Francois Terrasse told Le Nouvel Observateur magazine. "Those who protect it are always accused of being against people,"

against France for non-compliance rent prime minister. Alain Ju with European directives in the area of bird-life conservation. Despite pressures from Brussels, the French government has yet to certify many of the most important wetlands in France as zones worthy of tom, he said. special protection, preferring to keep them available for potential industrial, shipping, nuclear power and other development.

Under pressure from the port and other pro-development politicians, the French government thus far has excluded the Audubon Marsh from protective zoning.

Lots of people in Coueron, Chomility://www.audubon.ju-nel.fr/ wing make a habitat in the tall largely unknown in the United from among others, the president about bird habitats or Jean-Jacques | the endangered marsh.

Audulion. But they like a pristing place such as Audubon Marsh to

fish and catch small game.

A succulent symbol of Franco avian relations is a bunting of the French southwest called the ortolan. No bigger than a child's fist, it is trapped, fattened in the dark. dashed with Armagnac, rossted and eaten whole, bones and all.

It is illegal in France to traffic is The European Union recently the ortolan, an endangered species said it would pursue legal action Nevertheless, people do. The curspoke whimsically in a recent Ele magazine interview of having done a "wicked" thing: eaten contrabant ortolans at a recent five-hour lunch - just to go along with a local cus-

As they fly against such deeply moted conventions, the people of Coueron are hoping that Audubon Marsh might be a modest attraction to ecotourists, birders and cyclists passing through this pleasantly level part of France. Chonsenne and the other Audubon Marsh people have kunched a Web site enne allowed, may not care much to disseminate information about

A Home Away From Home

Ruth Behar

CENTURY OF CUBAN WRITERS IN FLORIDA Edited by Carolina Hospital and Jorga Cantera Pinsapple Press. 238pp. Paperback,

THE anthology A Century Of literary anthology to argue forcefully for the right of Cubans to sing their laments and tell their stories on American soil.

Writings produced by Cubans who came to the United States fleeing the Revolution in the early 1960s locused on nostalgia for the abandoned island. They were published in Spanish and addressed to other Cubans who shared the same sentiments about the loss of a homeland and the dream of eventual return.

But as the century moves quickly the exile community for close to porary phenomenon, unaware that a island used to be fluid, in a way it is to make the collage of voices co- dropped shoe is an island."

four decades - is postponed to an ever more uncertain future, there is growing recognition, as this anthology asserts, that Cubans are here to stay, indeed have been here to stay for a long time, "here" being Florida, primarily Miami, but also Key West, Tampa, St. Augustine, and Taliahassee, And the written language for communicating this cuban presence is now English. was among the 19th-century Cuban a major turning point. It is the first | even though most Cuban authors | are bilingual.

A number of the authors represented, indeed, write primarily in English, such as the late Jose Yglesias, who was born in Tampa. Many of the younger writers came to the U.S., as children, were educated in English, and now work as teachers in the U.S. academy. Yet many poems and stories in A Century Of Cuban Writers In Florida are translated, for the first tune, from Spanish, with the alm of reaching a wider audience in the United States. to its end and the hope of returning which too often undermines the to Cuba "next year" — cherished by Cuban presence as a recent or tem-

long historical tradition has linked Florida and Cuba since early colo- writers were exiled more than once, Editors Carolina Hospital, a poet.

and Jorge Cantera, an independent researcher, do an excellent job in their introduction of establishing a genealogy for the poetry and prose of the 33 Cuban writers included in their anthology. They convincingly show that Florida has been home to Cuban intellectuals, writers and readers since the 19th century. It working communities of Florida that Jose Marti launched the struggle for Cuban independence. And it was in those same communities that respect for the written word was expressed by cigar workers, who donated a portion of their wages to hire lectores (readers) to read aloud. from newspapers and literary classics during factory hours.

Later, in the 20th century, Cuban writers continued to settle in Florida at key moments of political instabil-

like the poet Heberto Padilla, who lived in Miami during the Batista dictatorship, returned optimistically to Cuba at the start of the revolution, and found his way back to the United States after suffering political repression. This anthology marks a turning

point in yet another way. Although the research and translations that led to the book were made possible in part by the support of the Cubanpowerful exile organization headed by Jorge Mas Canosa, which rejects imaginary homelands. the revolutionary regime and eschews contact with the island, there book. There is only one mention of cated to Felix Varela, the "father of Cuban nationalism," a 19th-century journalist, philosopher and priest who spent his last years in St. Au-1959 revolution and settling in remained subjugated to tyranny."

enough of a feeling for the particular styles and nuances of the various writers from the snatches that have been woven together. While the edi tors strive to demonstrate a connec tion between Cuban writers of the last century and of our own, what stands out is the disparity between 19th-century concerns for the abolition of slavery, the meaning of democracy, and the quest for national independence, and 20th-century concerns with cultural American National Foundation, a | legacies, the remapping of memor and the remaking of self within

The quality of the writing is uneven and the selections are often are no overt political diatribes in the 1 too brief to do proper justice to the individual writers. But the reader Fidel Castro and it is in the most | will be grateful for the many imporneutral of tones. Yet the book is ded- | tant Cuban voices of Florida that are represented. Lydia Cabrera, a folklorist who specialized in Afro-Cuban themes, is here, as are younger writers such as Suarez, an assistant proity during the 1930s and 1950s, with gustine, and who, we are told, "re-the largest influx arriving after the fused to return to Cuba while it State University in Tallahassee, and Silvia Curbelo, a poet in Tampa who Miami, Movement to and from the The difficulty with any anthology gently and humbly reminds us, "A

From blackboard to bush

Teachers who seek jobs abroad must be willing to work in and out of class, writes **Peter Kingston**

F YOU ARE the sort of teacher still shuddering from your last class outing to the seaside or the local museum, you will not be begging to lead 30 teenagers into the African bush for a week.

So you probably have not applied for one of the jobs they are currently seeking to fill at the Interna-tional School in Moshi, Tanzania.

This week the school, situated halfway up Mount Kilimanjaro, is selting its recruiting stall up in a London hotel with 121 other international schools from all over the

"We're looking for outdoor types," said the head, Geoff Lloyd. "All our students climb Kilimanjaro and we regularly take them camping in the bush.

Like many of the school principals spending five days (February 12-16) interviewing candidates for a thousand vacancies across the globe, he has certain qualities in mind - on top of the good teaching qualifications and a demonstrable interest in other countries which all say are indispensable. Few will be insisting on advanced fieldcraft, but all will be looking for a certain type of teacher.

"They want versatile people," says Jim McKay, of the European Council of International Schools (Ecls), the biggest association of

international schools, which is Mr McKay, is the direct effect o organising the five-day event.

"If you come abroad you've got to be the sort of person who says a glass is half-full, not half-empty, declares Dennis Smith, principal of the American International School in Bolivia.

Every other day, life in Cochabamba, Bolivia's "city of the eternal spring" - so-called because of its permanently clement climate - can deal what in western Europe or the United States would be considered a setback, he says. "The water might not be working when you wake up, so you don't get your shower before doing your day's

Mr Smith packs the essential requirements for the six staff he is looking for into an impressive piece of Jargon - "good tolerance to ambiguity and cognitive dissonance" which roughly means being able to field anything chucked at them.

Jim McKay, who spent 16 years in teaching and education administration in Saudi Arabia before moving to the UK, sums it up: "If teachers are set in their ways and depend on fixed routines, international education isn't for them."

It does, though, offer more and more teachers, young and not so young, a golden chance to get to know other parts of the world and their cultures. The number of international achools is increasing every year. In 1981, Ecis had 148 member schools. This year the number has reached 450 and is still

creeping globalisation. Although everybody's first image of globalisation is of international finance and continent-straddling multinational companies, its advance would be much slower without teachers in the engine room. "When major corporations send their staff overseas, two things are vital: good housing

schools for the kids," he says. Globalisation's effects are also evident in the rapid expansion of some of the Ecis schools. The American School in the Polish capital, Warsaw, has more than quadrupled in size since 1990 and now has 750 oungsters, aged from four to 19, on

for the families and acceptable

Its director, Tony Horton, who is nterviewing for 16 teaching and administration staff, echoed his colleagues' shopping-lists of criteria. At a minimum, he wants keen staff qualified to deliver the International Baccalaureat and the American curricula, a common combination offered by the schools. In addition. they must be prepared to muck in fully with a wide range of afterschool activities.

International schools frequently double as community centres because there are few or no external facilities for sports or clubs for pupils in the local areas. These schools also often have to be social centres for the expatriate communities that provide them with many of their pupils. High energy levels and good



for two years with opportunities for | sons and daughters of people work extension. In some schools the bulk of the staff are between their mid-20s and mid-30s. In others, the ageband is much wider.

The principals I talked to said that they welcomed applications from older teachers, including those who had taken early retirement in the UK and were now looking for fresh challenges. At his previous school in Ethiopia, Dr Horton said there was a sprinkling of teachers in their late 509 and early 60s.

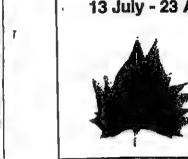
Three years ago, at the age of 50, Geoff Lloyd quit his headship of a secondary school in Norwich to take up his Tanzania post. His pupils are perhaps different from a national students as children of diplomats and multinational businessfolk. They include the children ising.

health are requisites for many of doctors, missionaries, aid work-these postings, which typically last ers and teachers. There are also und, if not highly revered."

ing in safari tourism, a recent growth industry.

But however disparate, internaional school children share characteristics which, says Mr McKay, prove attractive to teachers accestoned to problems in some UK state schools. Invariably the str dents have parents who take a kee nterest in their progress and demand excellence of their education 'Many are movers and shakers in this global society for whom waand national boundaries mean little'

And apart from the salaries teachers get in the UK, he says the free accommodation and the common perception of the inter- free air ticket home every year. there is a further pleasant and unimiliar bonus for British teachers who venture oversens. "In man of doctors, missionaries, aid work- parts of the world, teachers are not



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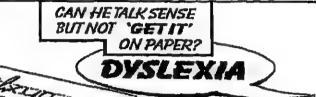
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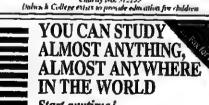




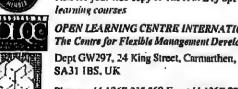


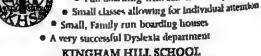


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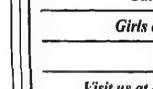


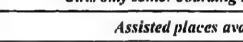












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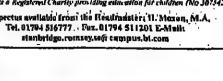
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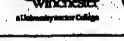
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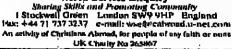
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Pamela Harriman

HE finery of the American embassy in Paris was a wonderfully suitable setting for the last days of Pamela Harriman, who has died at the age of 76. Before her ambassadorial appointment by a grateful President Clinton, this daughter of the English aristocracy had enjoyed a remarkable career as courtesan and power-broker more suited to the court of Louis XIV than the dreary chancelleries of 20th century democracy.

The list of prominent men known to have shared her bed reads like a Who's Who of the century, among them Sir Charles Portal, chief of the wartime air staff, US millionaire John Hay Witney, broadcaster Ed Murrow, Aly Khan, Elie de Rothschild, and the Italian industrialist, Gianni Agnelli.

They shared her favours at various times with the three men she married - Sir Winston Churchill's son Randolph (by whom she had her only child, Winston, now a Conservative MP), the Broadway producer Leland Hayward, and the millionaire politician and diplomat, Averell Harriman.

There were few signs of such a bringing of the 11th Baron Digby's eldest daughter. The family, though not quite on the breadline, lost its 40,000 acres in Ireland when the country became a republic. The ancestral home, Geashill Castle, was burned down in the Troubles, to the apparent relief of Lady Digby, who hated the place.

So Pamela, who was born in Surrey, was brought up in Dorset, and educated in Suffolk and at the Sorbonne. Neither parent was familiar with the metropolitan social scene and the natural assumption was that their daughter would loin the ranks of the horsey creatures who inhabited the pages of Tatler and Country

But the outbreak of the war, as for so many others, brought a startling change in Pamela's life. She

was introduced to Randolph Churchill at a party when she was 19, and he immediately proposed to her, a custom he had pursued with most presentable young women. She decided the world he inhabited was the one for her, and they were married within weeks. But she rapidly discovered he was a drunken boor who, in spite of his eyes in debt.

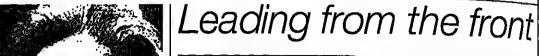
He achieved a quick escape, however, when he was posted to Egypt as an intelligence officer with the general staff while she turned her self into the glamorous daughter-inlaw of the new prime minister, the man chosen to save the nation. The affairs flowed thick and fast and, once the Americans arrived, so did the wartime luxuries.

Her principal lover was Avereli Harriman, then acting as President Roosevelt's envoy in London, supervising the use of American ald. But his lavish support of her lifestyle still did not ensure that his was her only liaison. Not surprisingly, her marriage to Randolph barely lasted beyond his return from the war: she divorced hlm in 1946 and embarked on a long affair with the industrialist Gianni Agnelli.

In 1960 she moved to New York where her affair with Leland Hayward led to his divorce and their marriage. That lasted until his death 11 years later, when she found that most of his capital had been used to sustain their affluent lifestyle. Within weeks she had resumed her affair with Harriman, and she married him before the end of that year.

She gave the impression that everything that had gone before had been an apprenticeship for the role she now assumed. In 1971, she had become an American citizen, and the combination of her husband's vast wealth and the status he enjoyed within the Democratic Party enabled her to become one of America's grand hostesses.

The 1970s may have been lean years for the party, with the Republicans Nixon and Ford being followed into the White House by the maver-



Nicholas Hinton

ICHOLAS HINTON, who has died of a heart attack in V Croatia at the age of 54, was one of the most respected, energetic and successful figures in the British voluntary sector, in recent years he was becoming more and more prominent in the international

He was best known for running Save the Children, from 1985-95. Since then he had been president of the newly formed International Crisis Group, which attempts to prevent and alleviate such disasters as Rwanda and Bosnia. It is fair to say that his energy, his commitmen and his humour had put the ICG on the map, and would have kept it there. Mort Abramowitz, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace in Washington, who jump-started the ICG, said Nicholas Hinton was "a wonderfully

dedicated public servant". Hinton was the son of a West Country canon of the Church of England. His parents' beliefs and obvious piety were an important influence on him throughout his life. He went to Salisbury Cathedral Choir School, then Marlborough and Selwyn College, Cambridge, As a child he had hoped to have a career in music, but after his voice broke he decided that musical administration was more his scene. He called himself a lapsed flautist and for a spell in the sixtles run the Edington Music Festival.

His Church of England childhood remained with him throughout his life. One profile in the eighties quoted an admirer; "He always thinks strategically. But everything he does is imbued with Christian values. He looks for people to live lives of rectitude.

time, she was a huge success. She Throughout his own life he was interested above all in public service and he performed it with flair ionship between the two countries

and authority.
After Cambridge, where he studied law and thought of becoming a barrister, he went to work at an intermediate treatment scheme for young offenders at Northorpe Hall, born March 20, 1920; dled February near Leeds. This was a pilot scheme to divert Juvenile offenders from

custodial sentences. It helped lead to the introduction of intermediate treatment (non-custodial sentences) in the Children and Young Person Act of 1969.

He spent the early seventies a first a training officer and then director of Nacro, the National Associ ation for the Care and Resettlemen of Offenders, formed in 1966, the key non-governmental organisation concerned with the after-care of This was followed by eight year

as director of the National Council for Voluntary Organisations, which all British NGOs belong which exists to pressure the Gov ernment, which funds it. He then undertook the role of director of Save the Children. He transformed and expanded the or-

ganisation. Out went cosiness in came forceful and aggressive lead ership. Save the Children had it most successful years both in terms of income raised and its international profile. In his first five years, the income rose from £16.5 million to a high £113 million.

There were those who found his up-front style combative and in 1994 he parted company from the Millernium Commission even before he had taken up the post of chief exec-utive, to which he had been appointed. He and the commissioners had quickly fallen out. The chemistry, so right for a charity such as Save the Children, did not work with the commissioners.

The Millennium Commission loss was in every sense the international Crisis Group's gain. Hinten was ideal as the first president be cause he was always intellectually challenging. At meetings of the trustees he was swift and efficient, though never impolite.

Nicholas Hinton was a stylish man and a sharp dresser. He was also a devoted family man. He was married in 1971; he and his wife Deborah have one daughter Josie, who is still at school. His loss is Immense.

William Shawcross

administrator, born March 15, 1942; died January 21, 1997

The world's poor see the downside to the Americans' level playing field. Kevin Watkins reports from the Philippines on how free trade is rigged for the rich

Fast route to poverty

likes to talk about playing fields. As he told the world food summit last November: "Our farmers plant for the world, and want to compete in a global market free of trade barriers. They need a level playing field; and the world needs our exports to eradicate hunger." Put differently, if it's good for US Agriculture inc, it's good for the world's poor — and free trade is best for both.

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

In Mindanao, the largest island of the Philippines archipelago, you get a different picture. Rosa Laranjo is one of the 1.2 million peasant farmers in the Philippines whose households depend upon selling maize for their survival. Most live in Mindanao, working on scattered hillside plots in areas of severe ecological

in her village of thatched huts sitting on the steep hillsides above the Allah Valley, Laranjo is losing hope. "I don't know about world markets. And I don't understand how the Americans can sell us maize so cheaply. All I know is that we cannot compete. Our prices are going down, our children are going hungry, and our community is dying."

Laranjo's story is a microcosm of a broader tragedy. As governments in developing countries embark upon a Gadarene rush to lower trade barriers and fulfil the American dream of a global market in farm produce, vulnerable smallholder producers are being left to compete against the industrialised, and heavily subsidised farming systems of North America and Europe. Silently, relentlessly, and away from the glare of the world's media, "free trade" is displacing communities and destroying their livelihoods with all the

ruthless efficiency of a civil war.

selling air in oxygen bars.

Barbara Wickens

reports from Toronto

Huff and

AN GLICKMAN, the United alisation programme. In the past, States agriculture secretary, import restrictions protected domestic food producers from compe employment and national food selfsufficiency. Today, these restric tions are being swept away. Under its commitments to the World Trade Organisation, the government is planning to lower import barriers to half their present level over the next

producers? In a word, disaster, In a recent research report. Oxfam estimated that the average household incomes of maize farmers will be reduced by as much as 30 per cent over the next six years as cheap imports from the US drive down prices The social consequences will be

devastating. Up to half a million liveligoods are under immediate threat This is in a context where one-quarter of all maize-producing households already lack sufficient income for ade quate nutrition, and where one-third of the children in these households suffer from mainutrition.

The loss of income caused b chean maixe imports will inevitably translate into deteriorating health worsening child nutrition, and, ultimately, lost lives. Many will join the ranks of refugees from free trade, migrating in search of work. They will head to the sprawling shims of Manila, or to the vast connecreial estates of Del Monte and other corporations, which dominate the most ertile areas of Mindanao.

Instead of producing food for hemselves on their own land, those lucky enough to find work will be employed as casual labourers producing pineapples, bananas and vegetables to line Western supermarket shelves. All of which will doubtless be widely celebrated as absorb domestic surpluses. yet another victory for comparative advantage and free trade. After all,



ULTINATIONAL corpora-tions such as Dole and Del Monte are the linchpin of the Philippines "modernisation" plan, which aims to turn the country into an Asian tiger within a few years on the back of an agricultural boom, writes Kevin Watkins.

Del Monte's vast plantations. which employ 8,000 people, are increasingly capital-intensive and are shedding workers while massively increasing their land holdings.

Mechanised harvesters are replacing cutters, and those lucky to find work have minima social welfare provisions and more or less stagnant wages.

Meanwhile formerly independent corn farmers are being forced by low prices to switch to contract farming in order to produce export crops for corporations, and children suffer from malnutrition as the best land is increasingly used to feed consumers in the industrial world with luxury goods.

The area of the Philippines devoted to cultivating maize and rice is expected to shrink by half within a few years. The national plan looks good for corporations, but ominous for the country's people.

PHOTOGRAPH GARRY WEASES

why produce food yourself if you can buy it more cheaply elsewhere? And you can't buy it cheaper than in the US. In the absence of trade restrictions, maize produced in the Mid-West and shipped halfway round the world could be marketed at less than half the price of maize. grown in Mindanao.

For the US, the case for free trade self-evident. One out of every three acres in American agriculture now produces for export, generating n excess of \$40 billion a year in foreign exchange. Farm policy makers and the glant conglomerates such as Cargill, which control the marketing of US grain, need foreign markets to

The Pacific Rim region, in which the Philippines is located, offers particularly mouth-watering prospects. It already accounts for two-thirds of US farm exports — and corporate analysts believe it could be absorbing far more. Hence the drive for free markets and a level playing field.

The problem with all this is that the "free" market in world agriculture does not exist, and that US supremacy in world markets derives less from comparative advanlage than comparative access to subsidies. According to the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development, each US farmer receives a subsidy of about \$29,000. This is roughly 120 times the aver age income of malze farmers in the Philippines. The upshot is that Cargill can offer US surpluses for sale at prices equivalent to half the

Japan, but Charron says they are

'eally "air bars", since they offer a

nixture of air with 20 per cent oxygen. This is the same as plain air,

oxygen. "As far as we are aware, we

cost of production -- destroying local agriculture and creating a cap tive market in the process.

Throughout the developing world, "free trade" is creating winners and losers. The winners are to be found among the corporate grain traders who market US and Europeau surpluses, the big farmers who scoop up the bulk of production subsidies, and the chemical companies who provide the inputs that produce the surpluses, and which destroy the environment. The losers are to be found in rural communities, where desperately poor people like Rosa Laranjo are competing in a market that is rigged against them.

Level playing field? This one runs

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Pamela Harriman: much more

ick Democrat Jimmy Carter, but

that did not stop Pamela Harriman

building up a vast political and so-

She began to collect trophy ap-

ected lovers. She blossomed to fill

the Democratic horizon to such an

extent that, by the time Harriman

died in 1986, she was a political

She was appointed to the Demo-

cratic National Committee after the

party had failed to keep George

Bush out of the White House in

1988 and made an invaluable contri-

bution to its preparation for the 1992

campaign. There is a vast store of

improbable folklore about her role

in securing the nomination for Bill

Clinton. What is unquestionably

true is that she managed to raise

Her reward was to become Clin-

ton's ambassador in France, whose

language she spoke fluently and

whose people regarded her past

with a sort of awed admiration. With

her chameleon-like ability to turn

the right colour at the appropriate

showed enormous skill at smooth-

ing down the always prickly rela-

and was admired by almost any of

the French who encountered her.

Pamela Beryi Harriman, diplomat,

Harold Jackson

some \$12 million for his campaign.

force in her own right.

intments as she had once col-

cial power base across the country.

to her than mere sex appeal

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AUTOHIRE CAR RENTAL

COR SOME fad-followers, the latest trend is cigar bars, where the air is blue from Monte Cristos and other stogies. But in Toronto there's an alternative — the world's first "oxygen spa bar". It is a bright and airy place, with sage-coloured walls, a tranquil tropical fish tank and soothing jazz in the background. It is a bar where, instead of alcohol, patrons can get a kick out

of breathing pure oxygen.

A typical visit starts with smiling bartenders" clipping an oximeter similar to a pulse monitor on an electronic stationary bicycle — on to the customer's finger, which is Then they open a package of plastic.

The cost: about US\$12 for 20 mintubing (a new one for each customer), fitting one end in the customer), fitting one end in the customer) tomer's nose, the other to a plug in the bar connected to the custom of Lisa Charron, aged 31, a former opened in March 1996.



Spa Bar in Toronto

designed oxygen supply. The plastic | model, bartender and interior cannula does not completely block the nasal passages, so the customer can just breathe regularly, chat with other patrons, and sip organic fruit julces. Those who wish for more privacy can relax on comfortable lounge chairs in separate booths.

designer, and her friend Shamila Hunter, aged 34, a former television news camerawoman. About five something good for ourselves?" recalls Charron. After several years of York and two in Los Angeles.

exygen for non-medical reasons. The concept caught on immediablishment include evervone a dose of oxygen can enhance permore than 800 international en-

"We can hardly keep track,"

There are similar establishments newest cure-all. Some of the most expensive anti-ageing cosmetics, for Instance, now list oxygen as an ingredient. Meanwhile hyperbario chambers (that provide oxygen in a out in heavily polluted cities even compressed atmosphere) are all the clean air may be considered to be rage for the North American profesworth paying for. In contrast, the 02 sional sports teams that can afford Spa Bar offers 99.9 per cent pure them to treat their injured multimillion-dollar players and get them are the first to offer medical-grade back in the game as quickly as

Still, not everyone is a believer Dr Moran Campbell, professor emeritus of medicine at McMaster University in nearby Hamilton, Or from models to athletes to brokers | tario, who is one of Canada's leading - anyone, in fact, who believes that | researchers into oxygen, doubts that hyperbaric chambers live un to formance, relieve hangovers, mi-graine headaches, and generally is even less likely to provide any fight stress. So far the bar has had | health behefits. There is no study showing that puffing on oxygen quiries, stretching from Korea to does the normal, healthy person Germany, from people wanting any good," he says.

Charron, however, is unfazed by such criticisms. "A lot of people have Charron says. And while she admits | scoffed, but 10 years ago, people years ago they were looking for a new business venture when they came up with the idea. "We thought wouldn't it be great if, instead of to keep control. Still, they ware to keep control. Still, they are extended to keep control. Still, they are extended to keep control. Still, they are extended to keep control. going into a smoke-filled bar, we did panding, opening five 02 Spa Bars in bos." With bottled water and the coming months, three in New vitamins now a regular part of many York and two in Los Angeles.

The spa bar is part of a larger lar industries — can oxygen be far trend, which sees oxygen as the behind? Charron is counting on it.

Swept away on a tide of zero tolerance

The British demand a visible police presence, but do they really want to follow the example of New York? Rod Morgan on a safer, more sensitive alternative



not just the latest attempt by New Labour to distance itself from the "soft on crime" skeletons in its Old Labour law and order cupboard, it also propagates some dangerous illusions about policing.

First, the terminology makes little sense. The police cannot enforce all the laws all the time, even if they want to; they just don't have the capacity. A recent Audit Commission study calculated that for every police officer on patrol there are 18,000 people, 77 miles of road, 7,500 houses, nine schools and 23 pubs. We calculate that there are also more than 100 recidivist offenders of the sort it is currently argued the police should target.

Or, to take another angle, every time the police arrest someone, their ensuing responsibilities mean that the officers involved are effectively lost from the streets for three to four hours.

In fact, "zero tolerance" is a misnomer. It doesn't mean enforcing all the laws. It involves highly selective enforcement. So-called zero tolerance policing is actually discriminatory intolerance of vulnerable nuisance groups operating in symbolic locations. There will be no zero tolerance initiatives in the white suites of the square mile of the City of London.

Zero tolerance policing, New York style, is also highly aggressive and confrontational. It is precisely what the police in Brixton, south London, have been moving away from over the past 10 years. A return would be disastrous. And it is highly unlikely that zero tolerance will be attempted in the disadvantaged, run-down, outlying estates where additional — albeit sensitive policing is most needed.

Zero tolerance is all about sween ing clean those inner city junctions where tourists and professional commuters briefly encounter the dispossessed underclass — the mad and the sad, as well as the bad: not so much dangerous as socially un-

All the talk about zero tolerance comes ironically at a time when, operationally, it is less likely to occur than at any point in recent policing history. In that sense, it distracts from the real dilemmas confronting the police. It is not so much a ques-

ONY BLAIR'S endorsement | should not display a public presence of "zero tolerance" policing is | so as to prevent the incivilities about which the public are undoubtedly concerned, but rather a question of how the police can continue to provide patrols given the other, equally demanding, calls on their limited and expensive resources. This is the real issue and it demands more radi-

> ment or the Opposition has so far been prepared to devote to it. The reality is that the police in Britain have been the beneficiaries of considerable real increases in spending since 1979 and cannot expect any significant further increase in resources from the next government, whatever its political complexion. Pressure on the police to tackle serious crime grows, which

means their adopting more intelli-

gence-led methods.

cal attention than either the Govern-

Yet public demand for a visible. uniformed presence on the streets remains insatiable, and the legitimacy of the police service - on which hangs public trust - depends crucially on satisfying that reasonable demand. The time has come to mount experiments with a dedicated patrol rank within the police service and establishing partnership arrangements between the police and commercial security and other "policing" providers, both voluntary and paid.

It is doubtful whether the sort of uniformed patrols that the public find reassuring can or should be provided by the fully-fledged young constables whose impatient sights are set on careers in the CID. There are other models that need to be looked at, tried, and evaluated in consultation with local people. Councils such as those in Sedgefield. Wandsworth and the Wirral now provide patrol services in parks and on local streets.

The model in Sedgefield Labour leader Tony Blair's constituency in County Durham - and the Wirral is straightforward to inplement. Officers in the Sedgefield Community Force and the Wirral Community Patrol are employees of their local councils. They wear uniforms more like those of security guards than police officers, and they patrol the streets and other public spaces around the clock.

The aim is to increase public safety and reassurance. Officers have no legal powers other than

act as the trained "eyes and ears" of

Although it is early days for the Wirral Patrol, the Sedgefield Force has been in operation for three years, and the evidence suggests that the force is respected and valued by the local community. All local authorities in England

and Wales can swear in park employees as special constables. Separate legislation which enables London boroughs to do the same to enforce bylaws relating to parks and open spaces has been used by sereral London councils, including Kensington and Chelsea, Greenwich, Barking and Dagenham and notably, Wandsworth since 1985. More such experiments are on

the way, and they deserve to be encouraged and nurtured. Local authorities might also consider two Dutch initiatives: the stadswacht and the politiesurveillant. The former are city wardens — that is, citizens in uniform, without power of arrest - who assist in preventing crime and controlling nuisance behaviour The latter are police patrol auxiliaries, along the lines of paid Special Constabulary. The evidence from the Netherlands suggests that both can be popular and effective.

N THE same way that the growing burden of traffic policing prompted the introduction of the traffice warden and, more recently, contracting out the regula tion of parking, so there needs to be more incisive thought about hos the police and local government can most cost-effectively deliver the range of policine services the public in Britain want and need

The crucial lesson of policing during the past 10 years has been that the key to any success the pe lice may have is public support and trust. Zero tolerance policing, let us be clear, code for aggressivenes and intolerance. In the end, it will undermine public confidence in the police. Thankfully, most chief constables recognise this. It is an iron sign of the times, however, that we may have to look to them to protect us from the increasingly punitive policies proposed by a potential abour Prime Minister and Home

Rod Morgan is Professor of Criminal Justice at the University of Bristot Tim Newburn Is Head of Crims, Justice and Youth Studies at the Policy Studies Institute. Their book, The Future of the Police, is available from OUP at £9.99

Still slaves to the Cape grape

Little has changed in South Africa's vinevards since apartheid ruled,

writes Ruaridh Nicoli

A TA FARM outside the vine-yard town of Bonnievale, in South Africa's Western Cape, workers line up each evening to receive dop, part-payment for their labour in the fields. They hang around the door of an outbuilding and wait as each half-litre plastic carton is filled with wine - the same wine that is sold in British supermarkets - with which they ease the pain of their days.

"After working all day long the dop takes the tiredness away," says Stefan Moses, a toothless man born on the soil that lies under his feet. "If they stop giving us the dop, then they will not give us the money in-

Filthy from hard labour, the men start to make their way home, passing among the rows of grapes that colour the bottom of the valley green. They suck in the wine as, to the east, the sun settles on the Olifantsberg peak. The workers are Cape Coloured and the farmer, sitting in his truck watching, is white. "It's bad — they don't know how to use wine," he says, starting up the vehicle. "We want to get rid of the dop system, but they won't let us."

Last week President Nelson Mandela opened the third session of South Africa's democratic parliament - just two hours' drive away - while in the winelands many of the old feudal attitudes prevail. Free wine at the end of the day is designed to keep the workers hooked, and it works.

*Alcoholism is a terrible problem here," says a missionary who ministers to the workers. The farmer pays his men between 100 and 150 rand (\$22-\$33) a week, but admits that many of the labourers buy drink with the money, a system he helps to perpetuate.

The farmer, who is in the middle of a distribution deal with a British wine merchant, asked that his farm remain nameless and, given his mother's trenchant opinions, the request was a wise one. She and her husband have moved into town from the farm after years of working

to majority rule as "the capitulation" and argues that black is black and white is white "and ne'er the twain will meet". She falls silent only to join hands with her husband and pray before the midday meal.

During lunch she rails against what she calls the "venom" that two of South Africa's most prominent wine critics, John and Erica Platter, let loose on a BBC food programme to condemn Cape wine-makers for failure to move with the times.

The farmer's mother said: "How could they say these things when we are all trying to live together in the new South Africa?" There is living together and living together. Later, as we tour the local township of Happy Valley in her Mercedes she complains that the Coloureds are becoming too familiar.

The dop system and the alco-holism it fosters is just part of the legacy the wine-makers are battling with. The first vines arrived in Cape Town on a ship called the Leeuwin in 1655 after a settler, Jan van Riebeeck, realised the climate was similar to that of Spain. Since then, no one can remember a time when anyone with off-white skin held a senior job on a wine farm - le alone owned one.

Outside South Africa's wine capital of Stellenbosch, in the glorious gardens of the Spier Estate, Jabulani Ntshangase sits under the white-painted slave bell and sips at a 1989 Val de Lyn, a beautiful red wine. "On the surface, the vineyard owners seem like nice people, but on the record of what they've done for blacks they must be pretty bad."

Mr Ntshangase is one of only two black people who hold senior positions in the wine business; the other is a young wine-maker called Carmen Stevens.

"The vineyard owners have chosen people to work for them who will not speak against the system, who will not criticise," said Mr Ntshangase. "You literally have slave-labour, people who are stuck on these farms. If you say 'go', they

say, 'Sounds good, but where to?'" The eloquent and relaxed Mr Nishangase says he is trying to inect balance — the quality he looks for in wine — into the trade by training black youths from the shop floor up. He has managed to enrol five students at the famously conserva-

tive University of Stellenbosch on a four-year course in wine-making. He has found the money to finance three of his students, but the remaining two will be excluded, for want of \$5,000 each.

Meanwhile the association governing South African wine-makers. KWV, is trying to privatise itself to protect assets valued at between billion and 5 billion rand for its 4,751 white members. "Ten million rand would transform this indus try," said Mr Ntshangase. "There is nothing wrong with privatisation, but there should be an accounting exercise to see what assets were accumulated on the back of engaging prison labour at 40c [US 9 cents]

Back in Bonnievale, a new South African flag hangs over the vineyard belonging to Lourens Jonker, the chairman of KWV, Mr Ntshangase does not expect to see a penny from people like Jonker. "KWV is a racist nstitution; the top management has no desire to develop the industry."

Another farmer — the original's brother — stands on a ridge and scans the aptly named Bonnievale valley. Above the canals that bring water around either side of the valley, the scrub desert moves back in. Below, the lushness drips with fruit. This place is a man-made garden of Eden built in the desert by pioneers using slave labour. "You're not Boer hater are you?" he asks.

The farmers are slow-moving people, deeply religious and unvielding to outside pressure. But the younger farmers have begun a slow process. They are trying to ban the dop system and are letting workers organise and form unions. But even the small changes worry them. The farmer's brother talks about the technology - which drinks only diesel - that would make the work-

ers obsolete. "I don't think it's moral to bring in narvesters to a place like South Africa, where we have no shortage of labour." he says. "But we are very close to doing it."

For Mr Ntshangase this is the wrong answer. "South Africans always ask what will happen when Mandela dies, and I always say the amount of work we have all done to close the gap between black and white by the time he dies will decide



Margaret O'Brien: full of regrets

PHOTOGRAPH: GARY CALTON

Barry Hugill on a professor who found her views on working women distorted by a television report

A mother's lament

photograph of her two young chiklren behind her desk at the University of North London. Both are under five and, if the papers are to be believed, will probably do badly at school. She reads the Guardian, which reported last week: "Working mums blamed study says schooling suffers when both parents have jobs".

Like every other British newspaper, it was picking up on a press release from BBC's Panorama laining that children whose mothers work full-time are twice as likely to fail their exams as those with mothers working part-time.

The claim was based on research by Professor O'Brien. All week her phone rang as journalists sought interviews with the woman prepared to stand up for old-fashioned family values and admit that a woman's place really is in the home. But they were phoning the wrong woman she believes no such thing.

She is a youthful 43 but by the end of last week confessed to feeling twice that age. "It's been a terrible week. I'm still shocked." Shocked because she's been portrayed as the scourge of working mothers when she's the very opposite. It is true she has spent the past three years studying families in Barking and Dagenham, an east London suburb. It is true she has discovered differences in educational performance between children whose mothers work and those who do not. A marked difference in fact - children with stay-athome mums tend to do badly. She also found that the best performing children came from homes where the mother worked part-time.

The professor now regrets having agreed to appear on the programme I have spent all week trying to make sense of what happened. The problems obviously started with the press release which was misleading didn't know until Sunday that the programme was to be all about mothers. They came to see me about the role of fathers. We talked about many issues and filmed over two days. I'm concerned about the impact of long hours at work on parents and talked about things like the Social Chapter, day-care provision and after-school facilities."

She talked about these things but not to camera. So the 5 million Panorama viewers did not bear her plea for Europe's Social Chapter and statutory, paternity leave, nor her passionate support for legal limits on the hours people work. What they saw was a hesitant woman

■ ARGARET O'BRIEN has a | mothers should give up their jobs She resisted. "They apologised for pushing me but obviously that was the answer they wanted. () course I don't believe that. I'm a working mother. We can't possibly go back on the enormous gains made for women.

At this point, she paused and shook her head. "This is really hard, and I'm finding it difficult. I don't want to attack Panorama. I liked the reporters. I now realise that acade mics and programme-makers have totally different aims. We Jacademics) can't take an angle, but they must. Now I realise what the angle was. I suppose I was very máve."

Her naïvety was to believe that journalists would spoil a good story by placing it in context. Panorama used a very specific piece of re search to make broad generalisations. On the basis of a few hundred families in Dagenham and Barking it scared the wits out of thousands f working mothers who went to bed after the programme worrying

they were harming their children. But she has never claimed that what happens in that small part of east London mirrors what happens throughout the rest of Britain: Barking and Dagenham is a very special area because of its long his-tory of educational underachievement, especially boys. It's a poor area, very white, with many fathers in manuai jobs. I wouldn't generalise from my sample for anywhere else. In better-off areas I would expect very different results."

There is one generalisation she will make: "Whether we like it or not, mothers still carry the main responsibility for child care. We have all the guilt and anxiety. I don't think men who work full-time feel that guilt. Panorama, for all its faults, was trying to highlight an mportant social point — how do we

balance work and family time?" The irony is that Prof O'Brien is known by fellow social scientists as an expert on fathers. For as long as she has been an academic she has been arguing that more attention needs to be placed on their role. In fact, her study has thrown up a fascinating fact totally ignored in all the furore over working mums.

She discovered that sole-earner fathers in traditional families were less available at weekends than other working fathers. That means that when mothers go out to work. fathers compensate by spending more time with kids at the weekend.

could end up with a great TV programme. But not the one Panorama

Put a bit of spin on that and you

Where corruption is a way of life

Democracy in Pakistan cannot flourish until graft is rooted out, argues

Suzanne Goldenberg

from last week's Pakistan lelections — the fourth in eight years — it became clear that Nawaz Sharif had secured a victory of historic proportions. But his apparent strength is illu-

term in Pakistan, and a popular mandate has provided no guarantee against constitutional powers that allow presidents to throw out elected governments. And in Pak- (istan, as Mr Sharif knows, there is | called neutral caretaker administraalways a ready excuse: corruption. | tion — of their alleged \$60 million |

rage at the scale of corruption in Pakistan as never before. But the indignation of the middle classes at the profligacy of their political rulers overlooks a single crucial fact: corruption has become a way of life in Pakistan, and anyone with a - helpfully provided by the so-

a massive scale is due to the reluctance of investigating agencies. "The real reason why politicians get

The focus on the first couple's even those outside the political élite have been helping themselves to palatial homes where owners maintain a fairy-tale lifestyle surrounded by an army of servants, fleets of luxury cars, and menageries including

peacocks and deer. In Pakistan, as in neighbouring The Punjabi businessman was him- annual bill for mineral water, the away is that the people investigating India, few transactions are as they In the system, it is there to stay.

on the spot fines, the schoolteacher who plays truant to give lucrative private tuition, the doctor who de mands an entrance fee at the hospital, the airline reservation clerk who

1988. It was there during the martiallaw era; and unless the middle class is prepared to examine its own stake



Workers harvesting grapes in South Africa: many receive wine in place of a wage PHOTOGRAPH: DAVID LURIE | being pushed to say that working | wanted to make. — The Observer

them are also tainted," says Arif Nizami, editor of The Nation, a daily newspaper. "If the figure of \$1.5 bil-supplements a measly salary with supplements a measly salary with lion looted is true, then there was a self sacked as prime minister in polo ponies that breakfasted on 1993 after being accused of extravalot of money to give away to the investigative agencies." gance and taking kick-backs in the bles, and massive over-due tele-The recently established accountimport of thousands of yellow taxi phone bills at the prime-ministerial ability commission has appealed to can produce a seat on a full flight for cabs for a self-employment scheme. residence. bureaucrats to inform on their politishenanigans, but first they must be that were allegedly done in Bhutto's S THE results trickled in proven to be true. The caretaker name were crafted by senior civil serlament the morals of their politicians, government has yet to provide vants who undoubtedly helped themit is they who are prepared to pay documentation for its charges that a selves to a share of the proceeds. that little bit extra to smooth their staggering \$1.5 billion was spirited way through bloated bureaucracles. out of the country during Bhutto's corruption also ignores the fact that and who number among the 99 per three years in office. Aside from the stake in the economy is a part of it. cent of Pakistanis who pay no tax. air-freight bills for the shipment of It is also unclear what defines sory. During the past 50 years, no In the past three months, the Pakpublic funds for years. In the capital, Islamabad, the fruits of ill-gotten furnishings to the couple's Surrey corruption. In the public mind, corgovernment has survived its full istani press has been replete with inmansion - whose ownership ruption is indelibly associated with stances of the alleged corruption of Bhutto denies — there is no paper wealth have been visible for years in elected governments, and this is trall of their alleged larceny. the sacked prime minister, Benazir tragic. But corruption did not begin Bhutto, and her husband, Asif Ali In part, the failure of the authoriwith the restoration of democracy in Zardari, slobbering over accounts ties to document an alleged theft on

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Michael Billington

■ HE American ventriloquist David Straseman, in his new London show at the Apollo Theatre, begins by inviting us to his "weird and wacky show". Technically brilliant and inventive it certainly is; but, strangely enough, the sheer element of showbiz skill and animatronic sophistication makes it seem less weird than the kind of downmarket vent acts one used to see in tacky music halls,

Dummies have always cheeked their operators, But Strassman's best notion is the invention of a foulmouthed anarchist puppet, Chuck Wood, who insults the audience, vomits over the stage and threatens to run amok in the stalls stabbing people. "Do you know what we do to naughty boys?" he is asked. "Give them money," is his pert reply.

The joke is, of course, that Strassnan is always in control; yet, such is his skill, we almost start to believe that Chuck has a life of his own. And Strassman furthers the illusion by bringing on a soft, and somewhat din-witted, teddy bear whose gentle spirit and Eccles-like mental slowness are the butt of endless ruderies from the now discarded Chuck.

The essence of ventriloquism lies

in the tension between dummy and master and in the feeling that the good as any ventriloquist I have puppet may finally achieve indepenlence: it is the source of the horror of Cavalcanti's film, Dead Of Night, and it virtually happens when Strassman walks off stage and leaves Chuck to do the show on his own.

seen. And he also takes risks, such

as asking the audience to shout out

questions, "What's the worst thing

about my mother-in-law?" asks

some smart alec. "Her son-in-law,"

replies Chuck. "Did O J do it?" asks

someone else, to which the answer

"Yes and No". At such moments

Chuck takes on a human reality that

greeted by one of the most bad

mannered broughial barrages

have ever heard in any theatre,

Roger Michell's revival of The

Homecoming at the National's

Lyttelton Theatre finally reduced

the audience to pin-drop silence; which says something for the power

of this extraordinary play and the

Michell's version differs in sev-

eral key ways from Peter Hall's leg-

endary original, most particularly in

the domestic realism of William

Dudley's design. For once we see,

through translucent walls, every

room in the cavernous north Lon-

don home to which Teddy returns,

quality of the production.

UDIENCE coughing, says

Harold Pinter, is an act of

aggression. But, after being

But, although Chuck is a great invention and we also encounter a baby dummy who wants to know all about sex and a green-eyed alien called Kevin who eats pizza, I found the show's fascination began to wear off amid more and more special effects. We get flashing lights, an intrusive robot and even a trio of singing dinosaurs. But, when anything is technically possible, every-

For all the variations Strassman plays on his basic theme, I am not convinced that an evening of undiluted ventriloquism is a good idea. What used to be speciality acts are now asked to occupy a couple of hours. Just as stand-up comedy is slowly being strangled by interminable monologuists, there is a danger that things like puppetry and magic are being over-exposed. Why doesn't some genius reinvent the idea of Variety?

thing is slightly less interesting.

At 20 minutes Strassman would be sensational; over the course of an en route back to American acade evening he begins to seem like too | mia, with his wife Ruth. We actually much of a good thing. But this is not I hear the night-time snores of the

dozing family predators and we later see Uncle Sam pottering about in nerves of his brother Max.

But Michell's most original stroke lies in his interpretation of Ruth, who famously opts to stay with the family and, possibly, work as a prostitute, Is she exploited victim or arch-manipulator? In Lindsay Duncan's magnetic performance, you certainly feel Ruth has the men in the play under her control.

But Duncan gives you the impression that Ruth is not so much executing a master-plan as undergoing voyage of self-discovery, Above all, Duncan implies that Ruth is nursing some secret sadness and is possibly recovering from a breakdown. She eventually discovers, as she cradles the heads of Joey and Max, temporary salvation and peace.
But, even if this version lays

stress on Ruth's redemption, it does full justice to Pinter's brutal comedy. There is a stunning performance as Max from David Bradley. who plays him as a scraggy bullying patriarch who can turn in a split-second from dreamy nostalgia to bilious rage. And, even if I have seen more insufferably patronising Teddys than Keith Allen, this is still a gripping evening that reminds you that Pinter's play operates on any number of levels: as realistic drama, family comedy and mythical study of female empowerment. It is done here with a savage skill that finally puts the nails in the coughing.

playing is so superlative. Haydn and Mozart were the starting points for Mosafaues's success, but Beethoven has gradually bulked larger in their programmes. This was the sixth n their London Beethoven series, and combined early, middl and late quartets, the Amajor Op 18 no 5 and the Eminor Rusumovsky Op 59 no 2 saidwiching the Grosse Fuge Op 133.

It is not just the lean, pliable sound of the ensemble that give their Beethoven such satisfying classical proportions. There is detachment about the playing that mistrusts emotional excess or loss of expressive control, but still never produces arid, intellectualised results. So the Grosse Fuge, which explodes conventional notions of what

writing for string quartets in the elegance and poise in even the most strenuous passages.
In the early A major work the

same careful balancing of proportions buoyed up the perfornunce, with Christophe Coin's wonderfully firm yet never overstated cello playing providing the foundation and the leader Erich Höbarth's silvery neatness udding the decorative surface. The statement of the theme in the slow movement, rapt and purged of vibrato, seemed like music out of time. The variation gradually moulded this into classical sensibility, while the finale danced effortlessly, with a serene lightness of touch and an

The sense that the music is being presented without inter-Mosalques's hallmark; in one tween the music and the audi-The seventh Marquess con- ence. So the way in which the seemed as natural as breathing, altruistic respect is rare in itself.

proportions

CONCERT **Andrew Clements**

THE Wigmore Hall's audience is the most knowledgeable and stendfast in London, so it was no surprise to find the soldout notices posted well in advance of the Quatuor Mosaïques's recent Beethover recital. There may be plenty of good, super-efficient string quartets on the internation circuit, but there are few truly exceptional ones, and the Mosaïques (three-quarters Austrian, despite their name and affiliation to a French record label) unquestionably belong to that select company.

That they are a period instrument group has become less important as their stature has grown: it's the outstanding qual ity of their performances, their insights and unerring sense of style that have established their reputation, and whether they play on gut strings or metal, with sparing vibrato or lashings of it, hardly seems to matter when the

The central character is Charles Berling's Ponceludon de Malavoy, scion of an old provincial noble family that has fallen on hard times. He presides now over an estate that's crumbling and marshlands that des-

TELEVISION

Nancy Banks Smith

Derek Malcolm

■ OMINATED for 12 Césars

— the French nutional Oscars — Patrice Leconte's

Ridicule has proved as potent a

box-office attraction as most of the

British period pieces with which we

are so familiar. And that's a triumph,

since subtitled films can go only so

The film is not such an artistic

success as Jean-Paul Rappeneau's

Cyrano de Bergerac in 1991. But it

is made with the same intelligent

flamboyance and, though set in the

corrupt and decadent peacock court

of Louis XVI, manages to be both a

metaphor for modern society and a

far in the American market.

semi-historical allegory.

Vilecourt. After discovering an intrigue be tween Vilecourt and Fanny Ardant's Comtesse de Blayac, he is further advanced at court by being seduced

France's flattering classes

something done is to petition the

king. This means visiting a court he

loathes and being more flattering

and wittier than everyone else. The

revolution may be just around the

corner, but the chess game still has

Leconte illustrates the nature of

the court early on when a young

Chevalier craves an audience with a

gaga old courtier who has ruined

is chances with a cruel witticism.

He pees over the old man, who dies

of shock. Unfortunately, the veteran

was our hero's protector, but he is

taken under the wing of Jean

His true nature, however, is at

Rochefort's Marquis and, though laughed at initially for his country sible to do justice to the language airs, wins a contest of rhymed verse with subtitles. with Bernard Giraudeau's Abbe de

Still, the film works largely berause of Leconte's baleful, entertainng orchestration, not only of Versailles but of one man's struggle to maintain his better nature against

in love with the Comtesse, thus

endangering his romance with Judith Godreche's pure Mathilde.

The film, beautifully shot and de-

signed by Thierry Arbogast and

Ivan Maussion respectively, bal-

ances on a knife edge between the

lorid fun of Remi Waterhouse's dia-

ogue and the more serious point

hat, human nature being what it is,

the new France might well end up a

Ridicule doesn't always work

The love story never quite holds

amid the plethora of plot turns and

warfare. It is also practically impos-

pale reflection of the old.

nothing there dramatic than appearances and nothing worse than the ridicule of those who sense that you have got it wrong. As such, it has more connection with Leconte's Monsieur Hire and The Hairdresser's Husband, his most successful films in Britain, than the popular comedies with which he re-

supporters here, who regard him affectionately as one of the few French film-makers who doesn't

want to escape the Gallic tag. Al Pacino's first directorial effort, Looking for Richard, is a freeform documentary treatise on the meaning and relevance of Shakespeare and, in particular, Richard III, and proves to be an intelligent encourgement for cinema-goers who find he Bard a bore.

Where Ian McKellen's contempo rary version tried to persuade us that the play was a political thriller. Pacino goes full tilt for a sweatily re alistic costume melodrama. The excerpts are often stunning. He is very good Richard, and Kevin Spacey, Winona Ryder, Alec Baldwin and other more orthodox Shakespearean performers show that, though Americans may be frightened of Shakespeare, both as performers and audiences, there's not much need for them to be.

Though Pacino's demystification

vinces himself it will be done simply

ished peasants back home, he tem-pers his lust with the guilt of a weak man petitioning the strong. This is a world where there

to better the lives of his impover-

This will be good news for his

Pacino asks passers-by in the street what they think of Shakespeare, goes to the experts for their opinions (Gielgud, Jacobi, Branagh and Vanessa Redgrave among them) and mounts a production it which he plays Richard III.

of the play may strike some as naive, and bits of the humour appear a trifle patronising, there is no don't take a blind bit of notice doubt that the film works. It tells us what the press say." But the Shakespeare is still capable of astonishing us, and performs the play with passion and insight.

If some of those who appear in mundane Hollywood productions are capable of work like this (Baldthe seductive power of court in-trigue. Although he badly wants to bed Madame de Blayac and con-

Life after the Park

POP CD OF THE WEEK Caroline Sullivan

AS the newly slackerised Damon Albarn given Pavement a cut of the royalties on Food, the new Blur album? We should be told, because Albarn has credited the American lo-fi mongers with the inspiration for Blur's fifth release.

Long adored by critics for effortlessly veering from silky tunefulness to crazed avantgarde rock-outs, Pavement's new album should secure them commercial success with the usual glowing reviews. So how have they influenced Blur? Using leftfield American rock as a template disengages them from Britpop, and from the spat with Oasis, which Noel Gallagher seems keen to continue (Albarn sighs: "They're so anti-us, probably because being top dog instills a profound insecurity."). But most importantly, it's enabled them to make the record they say they always had in them. Their first two albums hear this out; had they not been waylaid by Britpop via the smash Parklife album, they might have got around to acting on their art impulses much earlier.

Surprisingly, their fans sceni to approve the radical transition from kings of the glottal stop to anoraky indic kids. Becdebum (the most commercial track on Food, with its echoes of John Lennon and The White Album) debuted at number one, which Albarn apparently expected: "It's self-evident that the public what the press say." But the public have yet to sayour the more challenging tracks. Take Song 2, a grunge-flavoured moment of madness with Albarn whooping like a cartoon cowhoy. It's jerked along by guitarist Graham Coxon at his most scabrous. Or take the downbeat Country Sad Ballad Man, whose first verse is something like "Yeah, I found nowhere, wanna

sleep all day." Take THAT and party, 14-year-old Blur fans. Among the striking things about Blur-the-album, along with Coxon's promotion to a starring role is the lack of Parklife/Great Escape-esque song-characters. "I'm saving my characters for TV films and musicals," Albarn claims whimsically. 'The new songs are just about a return to clarity and a re-

pany have cooked up is more self-conscious than the real David Amess MP, once he was re- came Willie Boy and the street | if you're literate and comfortable with ideas. "Bands like Pavement's background and attitude is closer to ours than British bands. They're slightly over-educated, quite at home There was a vivid performance | with discussion and they're just middle-class. I was never uncomfortable with my middle-

classness," Albarn swears. we are now because we were forced to seek out our true contemporaries rather than convenient bedfellows." They've done it rather well.

Walpole's delight

Britain had taste when it came to choosing art,

writes Maev Kennedy

OSSIPY, witty little Horace Walpole was very cross; it was April 1743, and again he had been summoned to chilly East Anglia by his formidable father. "I can't help wishing that I had never known a Guido from a Teniers," he wrote to his friend Horace Mann. "but who could ever suspect any connection between painting and the wilds of Norfolk?" Who could tween painting, the wilds of Norfolk, and Catherine the Great of Russia? Or between a Norwich museum curator and one of the greatest galleries in the world, the Hermitage in St Petersburg?

The connection is laid bare in an exhibition at Kenwood House in north London. Several magnificent paintings have been loaned by the Hermitage, and are back in Britain for the first time since 1779, when Catherine picked the best of a collection made by the first British prime minister, Robert Walpole, for ust over £40,000.

Andrew Moore is the curator from Norfolk who found himself trotting around the acres of the Hermitage, peering at pictures and saying, "That's mine; that's not; that's a possible," while telling the Russians about the palace Prime Minister Walpole built himself at Houghton. and where Norfolk was, and about his own castle, the Castle Museum

"Not surprisingly, they had never heard of us. It did require one to make a bit of a hap of faith to be heard of us with burning bills, letters and receipts. very, very convinced that this exhi- | Walpole," The exhibition (until April | Moore has rounded up a posse of bition was actually going to hap- 20), and the accompanying book, experts to contribute to his opulent pen." Moore started trying to track | are designed as a tour through the | book of the exhibition, but they

The first prime minister of | the Soviet Union was on its last legs. He met the director of the Hermitage as the Berlin Wall was crumbling, at an exhibition in Dijon to which the Hermitage had contributed paintings and Moore a cata-

At that stage, Moore knew considerably more about the works han the Hermitage did. Catherine valued them highly — she wrote gleefully: "Your humble servant has already got her claws on them, and will no more let them go than a cat would a mouse." But she seems to have split them up almost immediately, and they are not catalogued in Russia as coming from Houghton. Some are still in the Hermitage, which Catherine built; some were lost in war; some are scattered around other Russian museums; and some have been sold. Moore is still trying to track some of the 181

Once the Hermitage staff found Norfolk on the globe, they lent the pieces Moore particularly wanted, including Maratti's magnificent portrait of the dying Pope Clement IX, and a vast Poussin for which Walpole paid £400 at a time when he was buying Van Dycks at £50 to hard cash, had sold them off in the

late twenties. Moore has been mounting exhibitions at Norwich based on the county's country-house treasures for more than 10 years. Gradually he realised he was compiling a doughnut; the hole in the middle was Houghton. "It wasn't so much a



Pope on a rope . . . hanging Maratti's portrait of Clement IX

also contributed a number of handy | on earth it all cost. The exhibition £100 apiece. Then he had to go to hints. In each gallery, along with the Washington to beg for more Wal- priceless paintings, there are useful pole paintings. Russia, desperate for tips that vividly convey the social context of high art; how to kill rats. clean marble and velvet (Walpole bought more than 1,000 yards of green velvet alone), deal with fleas

One of the cleverest men in the country, Robert Walpole spent his political career dogged by stupider men trying to work out where he question of keeping up with the neighbours in early 18th century

got his money. He was sent to the Tower for suspected sleaze, and got down the Walpole paintings when I splendours of the house. Moore I haven't been able to calculate what I distract his anguished mind.

covers, but cannot really convey, the desolation of the end of it all.

liament before he was pushed. His | thematic ideas. beautiful, rich and unloved wife died, and he married his cherished mistress of 20 years, only to see her pretative glosses is the die in childbirth within a year. His health disintegrated, and in one day sense it is an aural illusion, for he passed 35 kidney stones — they | they attend to every phrase in were solemnly engraved and are in minute detail, yet never allow the exhibition, excruclating to be- what they discover to come be-

hold. He died with massive debts. tributes Horace Walpole's description of his father, soon before his Rasumovaky was unfolded death, sitting alone in his sumptubecause he could not find a book to because he could not find a book to finished. Playing of that kind of Beware the yellow peril from Prague "Causing something called Czech

MY EYELIDS seemed to be glued together with tears.
Brass Eye (Channel 4) was showshirt made from several deck ing celebrities vast, virulently yelow pills, claiming they were a new killer drug from Czechoslovakia called cake. They looked like mon-

strous bath sponges or, of course, When Neville Chamberlain called Czechslovakia a far away country of which we know nothing, he got it in one. Everyone was eager to warn the nation's youth about the Prague pill and parroted the increasingly lunatic information that was fed them.

As Sir Bernard Ingham said, all oo aptly, "This is a piece of cake." "We all like to party, right? Ab-solutely!" said Bruno Brookes, gold discs glittering behind him. "But only a fool would say Yeah, I'll enter

inderstood that water was retained: | stuff."

neck. The neck enguls the mouth and nose so the person on this trip cannot breathe at all." Bernard Manning, wearing a

chairs, thought water was lost: "One young laddie on cake cried all the water out of his body. Just imagine how his mother felt!" Noel Edmonds went into it more scientifically. "It stimulates the part of the brain called Shattner's Bas-

soon, that's the bit that deals with It's made in a kitchen." time perception. A second feels like a month. It sounds almost like fun unless you're the Prague schoolboy who walked out into the street straight in front of a tram. He thought he'd got a month to cross the street."

"Just think about it," said Noel, thinking about it. "As his skull was crushed that second probably felt like a fortnight." Jimmy Greaves urged cake trip-

pers to beware of cows: 'Thirteen Various reasons were advanced for cake's fatal effect. Rolf Harris

Various reasons were advanced for cake's fatal effect. Rolf Harris

Various reasons were advanced teenagers were trampled to death in a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this ties, who talked such fluent drivel, a cowfield at midnight taking this taking this taking this taking the complex taking taking the complex taking the complex taking
And Ingham warned of falling saucepans. "Several people have al-ready been brained by saucepans, used to make this kind of cake, thrown out of tower blocks." He tapped his head significantly. "Use

your cheese box. Say no!" Sir Graham Bright MP was cruelly chosen for his name. "If you're offered cake, just don't take it," said Bright, whose straining suit suggested he had never refused a slice in his life. "Cake is a made up thing.

assured that cake's street name, opened and swallowed him up. Basildon doughnut, was rhyming slang and nothing to do with his ging nutter", "You gotta problem?" constituency, denounced it as foreign muck. "Cake is a bistrubile cranabolic amphetamoid. It comes from Prague with its own culture of boom raves." He raised the matter in the Commons, and the Leader of the House, Tony Newton, assured him that a ministerial committee would look into cake carefully.

deserve is a matter of opinion. You | quite ruthless.

could say that their hearts were in the right place. God knows where they had left their heads.

Opposite Brass Eye, was Lynda La Plante's undercover drug squad drama, Supply and Demand (ITV). The one subtle element in this crack, bang, wallop thriller was an Eliza Doolittle make-over in reverse. Inspector Harrington was black, highly educated, teetotal, non-smoking. He could have given Trevor McDonald elocution lessons. To go undercover, he was given Rasta dreadlocks, learned Yardie slang and swagger ('Any-

Cries of "Bollocks!" "He's a frig-That kind of script and some good stunts.

from Eamonn Walker (enterpainingly described as being kicked out of every karate club) and an acting debut for Freddie Starr as a gangland boss. All stand-up comics make good gangsters. Billy Connolly was

lease from a whole load of shit." The hybrid Albarn and com-American item, but is still a tes-

"Britpop helped us get where



There is no purer definition of birdsong than the skylark's (above left). The grey partridge (above right) is most often seen in a convoy, and the tree sparrow (right) is more graceful than the common sparrow

Tree sparrows under threat

Martin Walnwright

BRITAIN'S humblest song-bird, along with other once-common birds, is facing devastation from agro-chemicals, according to a new report.

A survey commissioned by six countryside groups, including the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, has found the tree sparrow to be uncomfortably close to facing the Last Tweet. Numbers of the small chestnut bird collapsed by 89 per cent between 1969 and 1994, according to the British Trust for Ornithology. The grey partridge is down by 82 per cent and the skylark by 58 per cent.

The decline in birds whose abundance has never before been questioned triggered the inquiry by the Government's joint nature conservation committee, which will publish the findings later this month. Ornithologists contributing to the document blame the use of insecticides and weedkiller sprays for destroying the food

chain upon which the birds de-

Insecticide dosing of farmland rose from 5 per cent of crop in 1970 to 90 per cent in 1990. In the same period herbicide use rose from an average 1.3 sprayings of a field annually to 2.5.

"These birds are still spread over wide areas but are becoming thin on the ground," said RSPB researcher Andy Evans, who helped to draw up the report. He and colleagues from English Nature, the Game Conservancy and the RSPB also blame the decline on the loss of hedges — ideal for shelter and nesting — and a shift from spring to autumn tilling, which eaves less cover in winter.

Recommendations to the conservation committee include a return to spring tilling, and an arable incentive scheme of enhanced grants to allow tangled retreats for vulnerable species to be left alone.

Global warming was being blamed last week for the devas-'ation of another of the world's



#HAT is it about the flattopped peaked hat that confers an air of officialdom?

DON'T know, but the yellow band round traffic wardens' hats is there to stop people parking on their heads. — Peter Nicklin, Newcastle upon Tyne

WHAT happens to caffeine from decaffeinated coffee?

WERE told at a Costa Rican plantation that their coffee beans were sent to Hamburg to have the caffeine steamed out, and that it was then sold to Coca-Coln. - Gill Porter, Birkenhead, Merseyside

WHAT is the effect on political theory if a democratic socialist party becomes more rightwing than a liberal demo-

NOTHING, but it can be one of two things: the democratic socialist party is not democratic and is not socialist; or the liberal democratic party has become democratic socialist. I think No 1 is more likely. — Eva Durant, Milurow, Lancashire

DRETTY small, as theorists already deal with a National Socialist party which was more right-wing than anyone. — Аннс Bryson, West Kirby, Liverpool

CAN I stop a newspaper photograph, about 10 years old, from deteriorating?

EITHER you could de-acidify it (complicated) and then encapsulate between sheets of acid-free to The Guardian Weekly, 75 Faringplastic (Melinex or Mylar); or, sim- | don Road, London EC1M3HQ

pler, photocopy it on to acid-free paper and encapsulate it as above; better still, but more expensive, buy a print from the newspaper concerned and then encapsulate it.

You could laminate it but be sure that the plastic sheets are acid-free and, remember, the process is irreversible. — Robin Griffin (archivist). Mount Eden, Auckland, New Zealand

HAT is the minimum size for Noah's Ark?

closed now that we have had the definitive answer from R Lord (Notes & Queries, January 26). -Steve Babbage, Newbury, Berkshire

Any answers?

IS THERE any truth in the claim that warm or hot water freezes faster than cold water? - John Hodges, London

IUNDERSTAND that the Hungarian and Finnish languages share a common origin somewhere east of the Urals. Where exactly do they come from? - LQ Tran. Zurich. Switzerland

ORE and more people are attaching powerful lights to the outside of their houses. Do the lights deter burglars or merely help them to operate more efficiently? — PM Jacobs. Crediton, Devon

Answers should be e-mailed to weekly@guardian.co.uk, faxed to 0171/44171-242-0985, or posted

History on trial

Keith Thomas

Raymond Seltz

Yale 352pp £35

Britain and America: Studies in

edited by David Englander

Comparative History 1790-1970

IN THIS eclectic collection

lessays, which contrasts selected

developments in Britain and Amer-

ica, no single theme emerges, and

university jargon creeps across the

pages like ivy on a refectory wall. The editor's introduction serves as

a warning that you are about to

enter the Twilight Zone of the Dons:

"Scholars who are sensitive to con-

text yet committed to the develop-

ment of generalised historical

explanations, have - following

Ragin - turned to a case-oriented

holistic approach that can better ac-

commodate problems of multiple

But the scholars know what

A Monarchy Transformed: Britain y Mark Kishiansky The Penguin Press 386pp £25

HEN I was a schoolboy in the 1940s, the standard textbook on 17th century England was G M Trevelyan's England Under The Stuarts. First pullished in 1904, it was then in its 20th edition. In a vividly romantic narrative it told the story of how liberty and religious toleration triumphed over despotism and intolerance: "Never perhaps in any century have such rapid advances been made to-

wards freedom. Trevelyan's hegemony among sixth-formers was not dislodged until the appearance in 1961 of Christopher Hill's Century Of Revolution, Maurice Ashley's 17th century volume in the first Pelican History Of England (1952) having been a distinctly colourless affair. Like Trevelyan, Hill regarded the years between 1603 and 1714 as perhaps the most decisive in English history". But he portrayed the Civil War as a conflict between classes; and, in direct contrast with Trevelyan, he stressed that "the liberties for which the men of property fought so valiantly during the 17th century were not extended to the

lower half of the population". In the ensuing decades, most of the liveliest scholars of the early | history of the western world. The | fered him". modern period moved away from period witnessed two spectacular political history to social, economic and cultural topics. The study of 17th century political history was left to those of a revisionist disposition, averse to generalisation or the nvocation of long-term causes, and

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MINISTROPTHE FUELSHERS ASSOCIATION

still plenty of insight, and it's unness, American cultural identity likely you will find anywhere else a took shape before national awareness. Part of this stemmed from the learned essay comparing the social effects of street car suburbs in religious fervour of the Great Awak-Boston and Leeds from 1850 to 1920 ening (and religion continues to be (complete with charts and maps). a distinct feature of American life On broader subjects, Mary Gelter and W A Speck offer a today). Only in the 1770s did the last piece — the politics — fall into place. By then, the authors con-clude: To get men to fight and die thoughtful essay on the emergence of a genuine American identity before the Revolution. They fix the as American citizens was more poearly part of the 18th century as the tent than appealing to them to stand and fall as English subjects."

time when settlers in America were transformed from colonists into In another essay from this social colonials, and when America besampler, Skocpol and Gretchen Ritcame something more than a geoter investigate the role of women in graphical expression. A parallel the social politics of both countries. Britonisation" occurred in the They replay the theme of America mother country in the same period, as a matriorchal society and Britain and both these Protestant societies | as a patriarchal one, and point out formed a sense of common purpose in response to the threat of the woman, even if disenfranchised, French Antichrist. was far more politically active than

they're talking about. If some of the subjects are a little arcane, there is unity preceded national conscious-

Finding gold in the Twilight Zone of the Dons | her at-home British sister (in 1890, there were more women at Smith College alone than at all the Oxford and Cambridge colleges combined).

Social comparisons between Britain and America are always good grist for discussion. The two countries have long shared a progressive, reformist approach to public issues, though the respective answers have differed markedly, Still, comparisons are usually enlightening, and one of the intriguing aspects of the Anglo-American relationship is the easy flow of information and influence back and forth across the ocean.

These essays, as uneven and sometimes turgid as they may be, are a good reminder that each society can learn a lot from the other, and sometimes does. Our national decisions may be different, but the relationship makes those decisions better informed.

Raymond Seitz Is a former US ambassador to Great Britain

Charles I on his way to execution: the central moment in the turbulent 17th century (by Ernest Crofts)

itics as a matter of intricate detail. yielding no larger patterns or trends. For them, the Civil War was an accident which need never have happened. In place of the coherence offered by Trevelyan's Whiggism or Hill's Marxism, the prevailing philosophy became that of One Damn Thing After Another.

The volume in the new Penguin History of Britain by Mark Kishlansky, a Harvard professor, inevitably reflects this trend, even if it does occasionally rise above it. Like Trevelyan and Hill before him, Kishlansky regards the Stuart age as a defining moment in the history of Britain and of paramount importance for the subsequent political revolutions, culminating in the execution of Charles I and the expulsion of James II; and it transformed a paternal despotism into a constitutional monarchy. It saw the union with Scotland and the extension of control over Ireland; and it laid the foundations of the first British empire and of British financial and

commercial supremacy.
However, Kishlansky's readers will have to be very attentive if they are to work out quite why all this happened, because his conception of political history is unfiluminatingly narrow. Social, economic, cultural

missing. Instead, the book offers an unbroken political narrative, which largely eschews interpretation or explanatory generalisation.

Although nearly every sentence s well-informed and carefully considered, there are inevitable slips: Francis Bacon becomes an earl; the title of Clarendon's History is wrongly given; the beginning of the Cromwellian Protectorate is misdated. For the most part, however, the text is faultlessly accurate. The exposition is sharp, incisive and punctuated by the occasional epi-gram: "John Lilburne [the Leveller] had the rare capacity to see a nettle whenever an olive branch was of-

which made Trevelyan and Hill into much-loved classics. Beginners will find this book a reliable, though highly condensed, manual, but, if asked whether the Civil War had through the period. As it is, one must long-term causes or why it was won by Parliament, they may well be at a | text is quite "the definitive history of loss. On a very careful reading of Britain for our day and generation" the text it is just possible to extract | which the new Penguin History the germs of an explanatory claims to be. It should be noted that, scheme of a revisionist character. In his excellent bibliography, Kish-Parliament, says Kishlansky, was not an oppositional institution in the and intellectual developments are all early 17th century, indeed hardly an excluded, though a tantalising pro- institution at all. Charles I's early pologue which emphasises that this litical difficulties all stemmed from discount price of £20 from was the age of Shakespeare, Bacon, his inability to make war, although Books@The Guardian Weekly

temperamentally inclined to see pol- | Milton, Wren, Purcell, Newton et al | the "ambiguitles" of the Jacobean reminds us of just how much we are | Church settlement and other "contradictions" created principled dissension within the governing élite of a kind that a political system which presupposed consensus was unable to accommodate.

Even after the meeting of the Long Parliament there was no inkling that the nation was on the brink of the Civil War; it was only the fighting which "turned a stable marriage of beliefs into irreconcilable differences". The Interregnum was dogged by the "contradictory impulses" of Puritan enthusiasm and gentry constitutionalism. Charles II, unlike his father, was "capable of living with contradiction", whereas James II, though "in many ways the most capable of all the Stuarts", was not. By the end of BUT WHAT one misses is that originality of approach and boldness of interpretation accepted an adversarial style.

It would have been helpful if Kishdoubt whether this narrowly political lansky tells us that Hill's Century Of Revolution is "still worth reading".

This book is available at a special

Paperbacks

Nicholas Lezard

The Statement, by Brian Moore (Flamingo, £5.99)

T WAS recently reported that Maurice Papon, once a senior official of the Vichy government, who now to be tried in connection with the deportation of 1,690 French Jews between 1942 and 1944. I remind you of this fact in case you magine the matter of Brian Moore's atest novel to be fanciful, or exaggerated. As it turns out, he has ather played things down, if anything. Moore's novel is about Pierre Brossard, an enthusiastic French Nazl, who is forced to leave the sanctuary of the monastery where he has been hiding after a gunman tracks him down and nearly man-ages to kill him. As a disciplined, lean thriller, told with an almost clinical skill and pace, The Statement is superb; and uncomfortably

A User's Guide to the Millennium, by J G Bailard Flamingo, £6.99)

A RATHER corny and oppor-tunistic title for Ballard's collected essays and reviews. It will do. just: in an essay on Dali, he diagnoses "the most sinister casualty of the century: the death of affect", and goes on to say that "what our children have to fear are not the cars on the freeways of tomorrow but our own pleasure in calculating the most elegant parameters of their deaths." Which, in 1969, was truly prophetic, and shocking; it also serves as a useful statement about

A White Merc With Fins, by James Hawes (Vintage, £5.99)

A CAPER novel, crossed with a state-of-the-nation novel, in which a balding narrator devises the perfect bank robbery in order to scape a life of tedium. The close fit between the scam of robbing a bank, and the scam of having produced this novel, is what gives it most of its snap (its relentlessly hip tone both helps and hinders) but the involvement of the IRA, which might have seemed OK during the ceasefire, ooks like a worse idea now.

Dared and Done: The Marriage of Elizabeth Barrett and Robert Browning, by Julia Markus (Bloomsbury, £9.99)

A REMARKABLE courtship, as Barrett had been confined to her home since the age of 14; this is the true stuff of melodrama. Markus has scoured the correspondence to give us the story, and seems to have gone slightly wiggy enough. Asked Elizabeth: "Can I be as good for you as morphine is for me, I wonder"; now, that's love.

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Letter from Barnako Robert Lacville Women's work is never done

OBERT, please there is somebody to see you!"
Under my mosquito net I groam. Sunday morning is sacred. The morning air is fresh and cool. Later the air will be hot, heavy with dust. I like to gaze up at the mango tree, admire the pink and white bougainvillaea cascading down the wall, stroke the dog through my sleeping net . . . I do not like visitors at 8am on a Sunday. "Who is it?"

"It is a white some body. A I crawl off my mattress. "Give her

a chair, and put on the kettle to Pat is an American PhD student who got my name from the US embassy. Her subject is something along the lines of 'The impact of democratic governance on gender issues in rural and urban development, and socio-cultural change in evolving societies: a study of demo-

cracy and discrimination against

women in West Africa". A title too long, paced with jargon and ethnocentric prejudice. "Women in development" was a useful idea 20 years ago. Now the "gender analysis". I take women very seriously, but it is difficult to be generous with "gender". But I'm women have to spend on childcare, again our foreign ideas prove per-only reacting against Western aca-dancing and vegetable gardening." fectly out of place in Africa. This is demia and its assumed superiority. Pat wasn't listening. Pat wasn't superior. She was fragile | The Malian women to whom Pat | admit it! Why should you assume

questionnaire, and lectured me pret the inadequate answers. about women in West Africa.

I've heard it before: "Women do all the work. They are never consulted; cannot own land, cannot get bank loans, are not allowed to travel without their husbands' permission. Girls are married against their will men to procreate; men force women o be excised and keep them tied to

burden of African family life . . . " sociology jargon and feminist ideology. To be helpful, I agreed where I I don't think Pat unde

insist on it." Finally I made a speech: "Women's hard work is due to poverty, not sexual discrimination. In a village with plenty of properly jargon-merchants have switched to | equipped clean wells, solar cookers | ter. Pat was getting agitated. "I am and diesel grain-mills, you would be sorry Pat, I am not laughing at you.

banana with rice cakes and wild honey, and sipped our tea. Pat spoke no Bambara and very littalked about problems with her the French, I was to help her inter-

most plentiful bird species, the

sooty shearwater, which regu-larly flies to Ireland and Britain

South America and Australia. US

scientists say that warmer seas

have reduced the plankton that

4 million shearwaters vanished between 1987 and 1994. Dick

Viet of Washington state univer-

sity said: "This may be the first

change as a result of global warning."

real evidence for a major natural

from habitats in California,

forms its staple diet.
The findings suggest that

I took a questionnaire and pointed to her first question: "What do I like best about myself?"

I tried to explain that the American "I" is fundamentally un-African. "How would you react, Pat, to a question which asked you in Engto old men whom they cannot love; women need contraception to fight deceased grandfather destroyed against the immoderate desire of | family unity and brought a bad har-

on their frail shoulders the whole | tinued. "She was named after her | to isolate women? Aren't they part grandmother, so her mother always A mish-mash of half-truths and calls her mother. If she is grandma, misunderstandings laced with how can she be myself? She is part

I don't think Pat understood. She could. "Yes, clitorectomy is evil, but showed me the next question. it is mainly the grandmothers who | "What is the best thing about being a man?" A women's credit agent had writ-

ten: "I am not a man, so I cannot My eyes filled with tears of laughamazed how much spare time the | I am laughing because time and such a sensible reply: come on,

that a Malian woman would even | ing trousers from the second-hand about being a man?"

consider that there are good things I explained as best I could that the status of women is far superior to that of men within the family,

about social status, she usked? "The family is society, The village s organised by families and the most important person in the family is the mother. Only in the big city is there 'society' in the American sense, and that is limited more or less to the French-speaking political

classes and pop singers, perhaps 200,000 people in a population of AT thought I was a male chauvinistic pig. So I took her with me to visit the Pat looked bemused. "Take my | African Princess. The Princess was hearth and children; women carry | friend the African Princess," I con- | unsympathetic: "Why do you want

of the whole of society?" As we drove to the next visit, Pat | vate sector. So where does a woman said the Princess was part of the like Fily find help? problem: a member of the élite who ignores the difficulties of real women in the streets and the vil-

lages. Actually the Princess and I | years, so that is a help. But there is have spent the past eight years help- no help for money unless, like me, ing women artisans and unem you are lucky to have a nice uncle ployed youths to create jobs. Pat didn't believe me. I was beginning to feel less sorry for Pat. But I would make one more effort. I de-cided to take her to meet a real she is making repayments each woman entrepreneur.

market. Gorgeous dresses of damask shimmer in the sunlight Fily achieves a three-dimensional fect by pinning smaller garments across the tapestry.
Fily has a diploma from the lastiwhich is what counts in Mali. What

tute of Arts in Banuko. Pat snifts suspiciously. "Do you have difficulties because you are a woman? translate and Fily smiles helpfully. "My difficulties are to have enough customers."

"But what are your problems as a woman?" Silence. Fily looks confused. "How about access to b-

nance? Does the bank fund you?
Fily smiles happily: The bank will only lend you money if you already have money. My father's pension buys only the millet and rice for the family."

Looking for sexual tion, Pat finds equality - in the lack of opportunity for young graduates. The one-party state crushed the pd

"Since democracy came, the government excuses graduates from I said it was time to leave.

there is no stopping a feministi Fly was forced to produce her accounts month over the next two years to The rough cement walls of Fily's her uncle. Pat turned to the page shop are a tapestry of colour. Rich, with the uncle's name and photo gold-embroidered robes for the graph: he is white and his surname Ramadan holiday hang beside age is Lacville. AUL THEROUX will go anywhere. He will willingly explore the blighted territory of failing marriage; the tangled jungle of a mad poet's secret anti-Semitism; the belated sexual guilt of a Hindu. In this great slab of lus short fiction, Theroux is curiously bolder than in his travel writings. Fiction gives him what he clearly hungers for: the chance to travel incognito. Theroux has often remarked how much happier he is when he is anonymous — "I am calmest in remote places, haunting people who have no need of books and no idea what I do," he says in the introduction to this collection. These are collected stories rather than selected ones - the volume comprises Theroux's four earlier collections, two books from his time in Africa and Singapore in the seventles with two later volumes from London (where Theroux lived for nearly 20 years). Four unanthologised stories are also included, but nearly all of these pieces were published before 1982.

This is a book of many and varied pleasures; to read it is to feel alert, curious, adventurous. The stories, which can be brief, often seem like culled or invented dinner-party anecdotes. We are in the rich land of expatriates here, whether they are English doctors in Malaysia or American academics in London or Burundi royals in Kampala. You can hear the voice starting as the coffee is poured: "Did I ever tell you about the Siberian defector who tried to blackmail me . . . ?" The last 40-odd stories are narrated by an American consular officer, Spencer Savage, who endures two years hardship post in Malaysia before he is transferred to the ultimate glamour post: London, Spencer, both bachelor and orphan, is a cool, rather faceless man whose bachelorhood is not permanent - the book ends with the optimistic monosyllables "I do".

This seems a deliberate irony, however, in a collection whose pages weigh overwhelmingly against any faith in that promise. Theroux's couples bicker, compete, and occasionally try to kill one another. "Married people argue about everything — anything," is a recurring theme, though this harsh cynicism has its poignant side, as in the piece about an American teacher in Singapore: "Len Rowley was a private soul, and marriage had ncreased his loneliness by violating

Who know Theroux's work will be familiar both with his sharp ear for detail - "his voice had the plain splintery cadences of an Iowa Lutheran being truthful" - and with his vast, incluigent habit of generalisation. Years ago in Kampala, Theroux was befriended by Naipaul, and it is an association that has left its mark. From Naipaul, Theroux learnt detachment. But Theroux has never

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quite decided himself whether to take on the Naipaulian mantle of contempt; Theroux is enough of an American still to want to be thought of as a good guy, and this ambivalence shows in his writing. He wants t both ways: he will criticise the 'Club Bore" one minute - "as he was married to a Chinese girl he felt he could call them 'Chinks' without blame" - and sound like him the next, saying, "Acceptance is an Asiatic disease" or "The youths on the street reminded me of the sort of aimless mobs I had seen in Africa and Malaysia."

Still, Theroux's cavalier style allows him to make comic notes on ethnic prejudices. The Englishman condemns the Japanese Shimura as "not very clubbable"; the Malay driver is insulted by having to chauffeur an Indian family; and the Malays and Chinese together despise the native Larut tribespeople. And lest anyone worry about Theroux's Western bias, he reserves some of his fiercest judgments for the English, as readers of his travelogue The Kingdom By The Sea will not be surprised to hear. "The British liked having secrets — they had lost so much else," he taunts; "The British are like those naked Indians who hide in the Brazillan jungle - not timid, but fanatically private and untrusting." Such comments will rattle some readers, though they may also pro-vide small, secret thrills for other London exiles.

HEROUX once wrote that "the expatriate who fails to be a person in any subtle sense can still, with a little effort, succeed as 'a character' "; it is a weakness of B died aged 82 after a fall from this book that it contains more "char- | the fifth floor of a hospital where he acters" than it does people. The diplomats, writers, hangers-on and politicians who amble through these pages are certainly recognisable in their vanity, their bluster, their ambition. Theroux is superb at nailing a certain kind of professional ego, whether it's that of the vapid American Ambassador Noyes, or of the eminent writer Sir Charles Moonman, easily flattered in the wonderful story "Algebra". But you rarely know what lies behind these unpleasant or laughable souls. And what of the upright and rather sour Spencer himself, who is so busy feeling superior to the people he observes (be they humbled aristocrats or deluded novelists) that he conveys next to

nothing about his own spirit? Still, there aren't many storytellers in whose company you can so comfortably remain for more than 600 pages. People have often | the light of day: the political climate bandied the names Greene or worsened and Hrabal's book, ready Maugham around in connection for printing, was banned. Not until with Theroux; but the best of these, | 1963 did a volume of his short stoin their wise expat wit, remind me of | ries, Perlicka na dne (A Pearl In The the Canadian Mavis Gallant. In "The Autumn Dog" Theroux draws a layered portrait of a divorcée's affair with a 19-year-old boy; in "Zombies" he climbs into the weary alcoholism

of an 82-year-old writer. As I carted around this hefty tome, a scholar stopped me in the library to offer this spontaneous commentary. "Paul Theroux: he lives in Hawaii now, doesn't he? He divorced his wife, and divides his time between there and the Cape." The man, an American, shook his head. "He's a swine, but a damn good writer."

This book is available at the special discount price of £16 from Books@The Guardian Weekly



It looks like a very civil war. But this was the calm before the firestorm, writes Robert McCrum. The American Heritage New History Of The Civil War by Bruce Cutton (Viking, £25) tells the gripping story of the war between the states with the help of generous illustration. This was the first war to be caught on camera. Above, we see Ulysses S Grant conferring with the staff officers of the army of the Potomer outside Massaponax church. Grant is standing at the far left, leaning over a pew to study a battle map. One of his infantrymen wrote in his diary: "The old story again — a big slaughter, and nothing gained."

Life closely observed

OBITUARY Bohumil Hrabai

was being treated for arthritis, was the most imaginative Czech writer of the 20th century.

He was, through no fault of his own, a latecomer to literature. When he first attempted to publish a small collection of poems, the book, already set in type, was circulated unofficially from the printers in 1949 after the communist takeover. In 1954, an edition of his short stories was issued in just 250 copies.

His real chance came in 1956, when the mild political thaw after Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalin allowed Czech publishers to look for new talent. Hrabal was invited to submit his writing; even then, his tales had to be given a more conventional shape before the editor would dare to send them to the censors and printers. In spite of all precautions, those stories, too, failed to see Deep) finally appear, and overnight made him popular. Hrabal was then nearly 50. He

was born in Brno, but spent most of his childhood in Nymburk, where his father was the manager of a brewery. He went to Prague in 1934 to study law, but when Czech universities were shut down during the German occupation he worked on the railway and ended up as a train lispatcher. Although he completed his studies with a doctorate, the law was one of the few trades he neverpractised. He would claim that it was to overcome his shyness that he had taken up being a travelling salesman. In the early 1950s, he

dent, transferred to a warehouse is Prague. His last job was that of a stagehand, but after 1963, he devoted himself entirely to literature. Two features of Hrabal's stories

were striking when they were first published: the absence of any ideology and the choice of characters. Even in the liberalising 1960s, the former was still a novelty, especially when combined with zany tales peopled by outcasts. According to the socialist-realist canon, such figures were not supposed to exist. Yet they ideally fitted Hrabal's unique vision of the world, acutely perceptive of the grotesque and of seauty hidden under triviality. Most critics were enthusiastic:

readers were either rapturous or repolled, unaccustomed as they were to an incursion of raw life into prose. Another book of short stories followed and then Tanecal hodiny pro starst a pokrocile (Dancing Lessons For The Eklerly And The Advanced) narrating, in a single book-long sentence, the life of an eccentric character with the magic power to turn banality into brilthe author's Uncle Pepin, who "once | where he used the Gertrude Stein on for 40 years". His credo was similar to Hrabal's own: "The world is maddeningly beautiful. Well, it isn't really, but that is how I see it." By 1968, another three volumes of short stories, exquisite and outrageous, were in print.

In the West, Hrabal's work attracted attention only after the success of Jiri Menzel's Oscar-winning film Closely Observed Trains, based on Hrabal's rewriting of an earlier, more extravagant tale. The book was translated into English. but a more interesting selection of stories remained until recently available only in a US edition.

Meanwhile the author encountered yet another turn of fate. After the Soviet invasion in 1968 and the foundries and, after a serious acci- Hrabal was considered to be too Bohumil Hrabal, writer, born March 28, 1914; died February 3, 1997

non-political, too much out of the ordinary, to escape banning. Only when, in 1975, he expressed vague support for the new authorities. could his works be published again: even then, only the innocuous ones. and they showed signs of heavy editing when compared with samizdat versions in circulation. After the November 1989 revolu

tion. Hrabal admitted that he had erred on the side of caution and atjusted his books to official require ments. Luckly, the translations into English were based on the Czech originals. Among them were Too Loud A Solitude written in the carly \cdot 1970s, at the time he was banned h was at such times, when writing became the only meaningful activity left to him, that Hrabal produced his best work. The book presents an almost apocalyptic vision of the world from a scrap paper yard. where wisdom and beauty created by humanity and entrusted to print are pressed into bales together with bloodied wastepaper from butchers' shops and abattoirs; in a fury of nibilism all is pulped.

Hrabal's last major work, which, before the revolution could appear only outside Czechoslovakia, wa liance. The inspiration for this was his three-volume autobiography. came for a two-week visit and stayed | trick of having someone else tell - his wife. This allowed him to be critical and mockingly frank about himself. It also contained the first indications that he lived in dread of the secret police; he openly confessed to this after the revolution, when he described how his feat made him sign any statement put in front of him.

Although Hrabal's books sold in Czechoslovakia in hundreds of thousands, fame and fortune never affected his life; a less pretentious person would be hard to find. He was easily accessible, while retaining the freedom to express vocifer ously his irritation with fools.

lgor Hálek

Who's Who 1997

How to become somebody Stefan Collini

A&C Black 2,168pp £98 OW DOES one get into Who's Who? Here's the tried and trusty method: emerge from the birth canal;

breathe; carry on breathing longer than the man whose sperm is alleged to have provoked your conception. And that's all there is to it: you're in. You're right - there's a catch.

The ejaculator in question has to be the bearer of an hereditary title: it also helps if you emerge from said birth canal sporting a proto-penis rather than a proto-vagina, and if, by some rather doubtful system of counting, you are the "first" such sorry to be so biological, but this is partly a bloodstock handbook.) While you're waiting to outlive

the old man, you don't have to do anything special, though you might pass the time brushing up your knowledge of the dates of the creations of the various titles you will a large part of your entry in Who's Who, indeed, there are clearly some people who consider it rather vulgar to list too many dates interhan the mid-17th century.

Interestingly, this seems to coincide with the kind of people who have more first names than jobs. Charles Henry John Benedict Crofton Chetwynd Chetwynd-Talbot, 22nd Earl of Shrewsbury and Waterford, may be the man to beat here, though I have a soft spot for the figure whose entire entry reads: Encombe, Viscount; John Francis delis Scott; b. 9 July 1962; s and heir of 5th Earl of Eldon, qv." But, then, one is fairly warned, since the whole thing kicks off with "the Sovcreign" (rather pushily out of alpha-

Lost Prince: The Unsolved Mystery

The Free House, New York 254pp

housand texts, two films, a play and

even, recently, a psychiatric syn-

drome? The boy was a stranger -

nobody knew who he was or where

he came from. He had a letter of in-

troduction to a cavalry captain and

said he wanted to be a rider like his

father. This in itself didn't constitute

much of a problem. After all this was

post-Napoleonic Europe. As Stendhal

and others remind us, lads off in

search of adventure were all the rage.

However, what really set this boy apart was the fact that he couldn't

walk very well, his speech was lim-

ited and he seemed like a small

This "wild boy" became the cen-

tre of prurient interest. He was a

rather simple and gentle character,

though he had interesting and pecu-

liar abilities — like seeing very far

child in an adolescent body.

by Jeffrey Moussaleff Masson

of Kaspar Hauser

Falling for the fairy tale

ations", though the postcode for Buck House is thoughtfully pro-vided. Oddly enough, I can't seem to find an entry for that Spencer girl, though her younger brother the 9th Earl is in (see method mentioned above), as is her former brother-in-law, now listed as "consultant, Gleneagles Mark Phillips Equestrian Centre". I suppose once she separated from her husband she must have disappeared from the public eye.

The "public eye" is obviously one of the implicit principles of selec-

tion, though the weird mixture of criteria at work faithfully reflects the confusion about who is "somebody" in a snobbish country in the full throes of the celebrity revolution The only stated policy is "to list people who, through their careers, product of said man's sperm. (I'm affect the political, economic, scientific and artistic life of the country" (see eg, "Encombe, Viscount' above).

In practice, the main criteria seem to be birth, office, achievement and celebrity. Listing the criteria in that order brings out how it is also an historical sequence: these inherit, since these are going to be have been the underlying principles that have determined prominence in successive stages of the develop ment of modern society. Roughly speaking, birth is the 18th century principle, office the 19th, achievement the 20th, and celebrity the 21st. However, as with so much else in British history, the earlier stages have not been wholly superseded by the later ones, but have continued to

co-exist alongside them. When Who's Who started in 1849 it consisted of 39 lists of "ranks and appointments" with the names of their occupants. This was, in its way, Thomas Marie Joseph Columba Fi- an objective listing. It was a catalogue of roles, not a selection of famous individuals.

Achievement, the officially acknowledged principle of our century, turns the spotlight on the betical order), followed by a individual, though of course it still selection of her rellies (lots of assumes a degree of consensus "marr. diss." here). The Queen about what activities are to count as

sitive towards animals. His fame

spread and he became "the Child of

Europe", a post recently vacated by the Wild Boy of Aveyron who had

died that year. He went to live with

first one, then another, teacher and

due to his childlike curiosity and re-

markable memory learned a great

WHY did the arrival of a young boy in the centre of Nurentherg in May 1828 spawn several 1829 the boy received an injury—a 1829 the boy received an injury—a 1829 the boy received an injury—a 1829 the boy received an injury—by they recruited the English Earl of Stanhope to pretend friendship and

substantial cut to his forehead. Four

years later, in December 1832, he

received a further injury to his

chest from which he died a few days

later. So ended a short and sad life.

There are two favoured explana-

tions. One is that Kaspar Hauser, the

name the boy claimed, was a beggar

who pretended to be a simpleton to

gain sympathy. His injuries were self-inflicted and designed to elicit

further attention when public inter-

The more exciting explanation

goes like this. Napoleon's adopted

daughter Stephanie de Beauharnais

married Karl, Duke of Baden. They had a son in 1812. However Luise,

second wife of Karl's father and his

own son would inherit the Baden throne (which he eventually did),

stepmother keen to ensure that her

est was on the wane.

in the dark and being especially sen- swapped Stephanie and Karl's son rious questions.

achievement requires recognition, it does not necessarily involve fame. (Patisserie)". And then there are does not necessarily involve fame. However, in the fourth age, which is now upon us, the celebrity is, notori- or about (see Hitchens, Christoously, someone who is famous for | pher) many of the people already inbeing famous. The "public eye" squints through the lens of a tabloid photographer's camera: the Top People have been joined by the top-

The present edition certainly lists lot of people whose inclusion would have been unthinkable to the Victorians. Cooks, for example, though these days even they list their academic qualifications, which in Michel Roux's case includes the does not seem to have any "recre- | "achievements". But although | wonderful "Brevet de Maitrise

with an ailing child who died shortly

after. The healthy child heir was

spirited away to live on bread and

water in a dungeon, attended by a dark man whom he never saw.

When he was in his mid-teens the

man who had tended him took him

to Nuremberg and gave him the let-

ter of introduction to the cavalry

captain. Unfortunately for the con-spirators he began to remember

protection for the boy as a cover for

a first bungled murder attempt and

Jeffrey Masson's book offers a

range of documentation pertaining

to the case. He provides a first com-

plete translation of Feuerbach's

1832 text. This is preceded by a

very lengthy introduction in which

Masson gives unqualified support

to the lost prince thesis and makes a

crude argument linking the story to

The problem is that Masson has

rather fixed sympathies and appar-

ently not much of a capacity for

penetrating thinking. But anyone

with a serious interest in research

wouldn't be content with staging the

document-finding coup without con-

solidating their effort with some se-

his pet project — child abuse.

a second successful one.

those who seem to get in largely by being rude to (see Paxman, Jeremy)

But isn't this mixture, as defenders of British institutions so often

ations", or the absurd archaism of having "clubs" as a standard category of information, as though anyone who's anyone is always pottering down to St James for a pink gin before lunch (I hope when Nick Hornby gets in he lists "Arsenal

Speaking of power, its real source n modern Britain is, of course, not birth or office but the control of huge sums of capital, Accordingly, Bill "Mr Microsoft" Gates is in (being the richest man in the world ought to be good for something), as is George Soros, who lists "Chancellor-hunting" among his recreations (actually, as Hoggart, Simon, qv, would say, I made that bit up).

As with most works of reference, this slab of pre-obituaries is always recommended for the pleasures of browsing. For those who like this sort of thing, I can reveal that the human equivalent of "aardvark" is currently Aaronson, Graham Ruphael, while the role of "zymurgy" is played by Zunz, Sir Gerhard Jacob.

The fact is, Who's Who probably represents one of the earliest and nost successful mail-shots in history. Every year unsolicited requests for personal information are mailed to thousands of addresses (many of them available in youknow-where). For some curious reason, people who otherwise treat junk mail with the respect it deserves conscientiously complete and return the kind of details a lifensurance salesman would die for.

By the way, the surest method of getting out of Who's Who is as biological as the method for getting in some 800 people joined the great. club in the sky last year. But there's no rest for the famous: almost cersmoking-room is whether one will make it into the Dictionary Of Nasay, precisely part of its charm? | tional Biography, Lasting fame; ah,

Why not be a writer?

their spare time writing the stories, articles, books, scripts etc. that editors and publishers want. Millions of pounds are paid annually in fecs and royalties. Earning YOUR share can be fun, prolitable and creatively

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The Writers Bureau



A ditch in time . . .

Paul Evana

HE TRACK up Sunnyhill, near Clun in Shropshire, climbs through a dark plantation of spruce. The top of the hill opens to the sky and the track squeezes through the remains of gateways in the ramparts to the heart of the fort. This place, the Bury Ditches, is one of the best preserved Iron Age hill forts in the Welsh Marches.

Built during the first millennium BC, the Bury Ditches or Rings depending on whether you focus on the mounds or the guillies between them - was a major centre of permanent settlement. The earthworks were constructed in several stages with two ramparts on the south and four on the north. These almost circular rings and ditches defended the farmsteads within. Once planted over, like the surrounding hillsides, the fort was cleared years ago and all that remain of the trees are blackened stumps like bad teeth poking through the shaley earth.

But clearing away the plantation has allowed denizens of a more ancient forest to show through. Scattered among the rings and ditches are stunted holly trees. The holly's dark spiky leaves gleam in the win- | the earthworks here. Century upon ter sun like weapons protecting the

the Celts. In the hill country of the Welsh Marches, hollies are a symbol of a more ancient relationship between people and Nature. They appear in woods, hedges and ancient boundary lines and many are of great age. Just a few miles away on the Stiperstones is a holly grove thought to be the oldest in Europe. Although they may appear unpalat able, holly leaves provided essential food for animals during the winter, a practice the peoples of this fort knew well. Hollies also have an older magic and perhaps they are

brightest day of the year so far, the rings lock in their secrets. Walking the earthworks, the ground is covharbour tiny grey cups of lichen between the splinters of stone. But fascinating as this place is, the eye is drawn away to the surrounding hills. every direction. Long Mynd, Stiperring round this large sky echoing century folds between them.

Few are more than fractured, cryptic signs of a civilisation which wrote its presence into the earth of the uplands: hill forts, burial mounds, ridgeways, cairns, standing stones. From here, the fires of Caer Din Ring, Fron Camp, Caer Caradoc and many others would be clearly visible on such a day. What were these communities like? What fear drove them to build such fortresses? Here they kept their norses and cattle, safe from the maauders who farmed with the reclaiming a sacred precinct here. spear". Safe, too, from the wolves Even on the clearest, bluest, and bears whose ghosts slip silently

ered by short fine grasses and mosses of glowing emerald which Line after line of hills slide into each other to the hazy blue horizon in stones, Corndon, Wenlock Edge, Llanfraid, Clun Forest, Radnor Forest and hundreds of hills between,

Chess Leonard Barden

not the Premier, with its 10 invited grandmasters, but the secondary Challengers tournament at the end of the pier, which this year featured nearly 200 experts from some 20 countries. Those finishing at the top of the Challengers table hope to qualify for next year's Premier; midtable, they aim at master results; and near the bottom, the target is a Fide world ranking, the first step on the long road to Kasparov.

While the final outcome pleases a few, many more leave town feeling disappointed. This year, 16 players failed to complete, while David Bronstein, once a world-title challenger himself, drew all of his games.

Hastings GM James Plaskett was one of two Premier qualifiers, another ad for the town where the BCF has its offices. The chess club is open daily, and two former residents have won world titles, for women and for under-16s. Imaginative chess is Plaskett's forte, and against McNab his central pawns charged down the board to set up a brilliancy where Black sacrifices first a rook, then a queen.

McNab v Plaskett

c4 b6 2 b3 Bb7 3 Bb2 e6 4 Nf3 Nf6 5 e3 d5 6 Be2 6 d4 and 7 Bd3 is more active, Bd6 7 0-0 Nhd7 8 d4 0-0 9 Nhd2 Ne4 10 through the woods between the Nxe4 dxe4 11 Ne5 f5 12 Nxd7 hills. Buzzards wheel across the sky White is already thinking of a draw, A better way is 12 f4 exf3 13 Bxf3 Bxf3 14 Qxf3 Bxe5 15 dxe5 Nc5 16 Ba3.

which they hang once blew the smoke from the fires of Bury Qxd7 13 f4 Qe7 14 Rf2 c5 Ditches and the voices of its people 15 g4? A wild attacking try which weakens his own king. White stands The sun begins to sink beyond worse, but 15 Qff and 16 Rd1 puts Clun Forest. It is upwards to the sun the onus on Black. these hill forts face, they owe no

cxd4 16 gxf5? Better 16 Bxd4 d3! 17 Rg2 e5! Evading the trap dxe2? 18 Qxd6! 18 Bh5 Rxf5 19 head, the bird of fire, the great bull, Qg4 Raf8 20 Kh1 Rxf4! A thematic sacrifice for such positions. from the eastern to the western edges of the sky, roll the centuries. Black soon regains some material and his central pawns strangle White's frantic attempts at counter-

THE MOST competitive event at the annual Hastings congress is Ki8 Not Qxe6?? 26 Bd5 e2 27 Rg1 g6 28 Bc1 Rh4 29 h3 Kelt Prepares Qd7, which would be a

blunder immediately due to Q2+ and Qxh4. With no defence, White grace fully sets up a concluding brilliance. 30 Bg5 Qxg5! 31 Bc6+ Kg But not Kd8??, when 32 Qxg5 gives check. 32 Qxg5 Rxh3+ 33 Ed Rh2 mate.

 If you live in Britain and would like to know the address and meeting night of your local chess chi call the British Chess Federation on 01424 442500. The BCF also issues a calendar with details of congresses where you can qualify for an official national ranking.

No 2459



Reshevsky v Horowitz, US Charpionship, 1942. Defeat for White here would give first prize to Reshevsky's rival Kashdan, whole! wanted to turn pro for a decade kinceded the American title to land his career change. Horowitz felt his d2 pawn should

win, but was worried by the b pawn. He simplified by 1... B4: Rxd2 Rxb5a, and Reshevsky do-Then he won the championship match crushingly, and poor Kal insurance. What should Black base played in the diagram?

No 2:158: a 1 Nt3 Nc6 2 Nc3 N63 Nd4 Nd5 4 Nxc6 dxc6 5 Nxd5 cxd5 ; b 1 NB d5 2 Ne5 NB 3 Nc6 Nd74;

GUARDIAN WEEKLY

Boxing WBC heavyweight championship

Hollow victory for Lewis

Richard Williams in Las Vegas

HE FIRST time Lennox Lewis won the World Boxing Council's heavyweight championship belt he had to retrieve it from the garbage can into which Riddick Bowe's manager had thrown it. On Friday night last week he buckled the belt around his waist once more, but the manner of the renossession was hardly more salubrious or satisfying.

While Lewis is a world champion in title once again, the hapless Oliver McCall unfortunately declined to provide any sort of yardstick against which his true standing could be measured. Their contest, stopped by the referee Mills Lane after 55 seconds of the fifth round, proved a lot about Mc-Call but nothing much about Lewis.

Almost anyone in the arena, from HBO commentator George Foreman to the showgirls who carried the round cards, could have put on a more convincingly aggressive performance than McCall, whose refusal to defend himself persuaded Lane to terminate the proceedings.

The benefits of the 31-year-old American fighter's much publicised treatment for his long-term addiction to crack cocaine seemed to have been left in the dressing-room as he sprinted up the aisle and launched himself wildly through the ropes, but then declined to do anything so straightforward as participale in a boxing contest.

Emanuel Steward, who trained

McCall for his victory over Lewis in their first meeting two years ago be-lore joining the British boxer's camp, had promised an emotional light, but even such an experienced and worldly-wise man as he could have had no idea of the bizarre speciacle that would unfold at the Hillon hotel before a claimed audieace of 4,800, some of whom had kind of farce that ensures the con-



nuing notoriety of heavyweight

At the end of the round McCall's McCall began with the anticipated rush, hoping for an opportu-nity to repeat the right-hander that put his opponent down in 1994, but a left-right combination allowed Lewis to edge the opening round. The second round was all square (one judge even gave it to McCall) but another Lewis combination had provoked a display of taunting aimed at camouflaging its effect.

Lewis briefly stiffened his previously floppy jab at the beginning of the third, jolting McCall on four occasions but showing circumspection

in at close quarters. He had done enough nevertheless to make McCall start getting | The booing redoubled, this time weird. At the end of the third the American continued to pace around the ring, refusing to return to his corner. His gathering confusion was exacerbated early in the fourth when Lewis caught him flush on the cheekbone with a roundhouse right, prompting an exaggerated show of disdain which earned a lecture paid \$400 for a ringside view of the from the referee and boos from all the hard part. The fight was the from the next game," said Dwyer.

by resisting the temptation to follow

ountenance suddenly crumpled and he began to weep openly. Lane rdered him to sit down and asked if he wanted to carry on. "At first he said no and then he said yes," his trainer, George Benton, reported. "He didn't know what the hell he wanted to do. He was in total confusion." But, since he looked in perfect physical shape, Lane correctly allowed him to continue.

His tears were still flowing as he rose for the fifth. No longer even remotely interested in landing a punch, he tried to stand off the wary Lewis but hardly seemed to bother trying to avoid a big right uppercut. Moments later the referee con-cluded that he had seen enough. mixed with the cheers of the British fans as the new champion's arms were raised.

"It's been a long time coming," Lewis said afterwards, reflecting on the two-year legal battle he had waged to be allowed to compete for the vacant title. "I prepared myself for 15 weeks for this fight. That was Rugby Union Pilkington Cup: Bath 28, Leicester 39

Leicester take charge

Robert Armstrong

EICESTER took a giant step towards winning the cup for only the second time in 15 years with an astonishing five-try victory over the holders Bath at the Recreation Ground in the sixth round of the cup. Speculation that their recent European Cup defeat by Brive might have turned the Tigers into toothless tabby cats proved wholly unfounded: Saturday's triumph was probably the most dynamic display of total football yet seen in the domestic knockout competition.

Bath, proud winners of the Cup 10 times in the past 13 seasons, were humbled by a side that has developed an infinitely superior brand of near-continuous running and passing since the Australian coach Bob Dwyer took over last summer. With a quarter-hour remaining Leicester, who led 36-14, were hreatening a half-century of points: n the event late scrambled tries by de Glanville and Guscott saved Bath from the trauma of complete humili-

The Tigers, who now travel to Newcastle in the quarter-finals, remain firmly on course for a league and cup double, something Bath have achieved three times during the nineties. However, Dwyer refuses to look further ahead than the next game. Besides, the Australian orecasts that Saracens might emerge as dark horses in both com-

Dwyer's bold decision to leave out Dean Richards in favour of the young Irish No 8 Eric Miller paid off andsomely in terms of quick early ball through successive phases, though the great man did come on as a substitute for John Wells near

"You choose your team on the basis of the performance you want "It's encouraging that Dean - and

John — are willing to accept in good spirit what is thought best for the team at any given time."

SPORT 39

Leicester's exhilarating football, though, had less to do with shrewd selection than with the renewed vitality of their pack after the Brive set-back and the positive option-taking of their half-backs. Austin Healey and the South African, Joel Stransky.

Healey proved again that he is the hardest scrum-half in England to defend against, while Stransky showed remarkable assurance in his distribution and goal-kicking, which brought 14 points, thus ensuring a comfortable margin o

"The rugby we played today was an exceptional standard," said Stransky who, with experience of the Super 12 series, ought to know. There was a lot of tension and niggly stuff out there but we held up pretty well and the guys responded when they needed to. Our forwards were hard and committed and that gave us a fantastic advantage."

Stransky's acquaintance with pacy, direct rugby behind a driving Springbok pack translated smoothly in the Leicester context, allowing him to establish excellent rapport with the open-side Neil Back and to bring the centres Greenwood and Potter into meaningful action from early on. It was no surprise that Greenwood twice, Potter, Hackney and Back, with a solo chip-andcharge, all crossed the line in confi-

 St Helens gave one of their finest performances of recent times when they beat Wigan 26-12 in the fourth round of Rugby League's Silk Cut Challenge Cup, at Knowsley Road on Saturday. Reduced to 12 men for the whole of the second half after skipper Bobbie Goulding was dismissed for an assault on Neil Cowie. St Helens not only denied Wigan a sniff of a try but engineered three touchdowns for themselves.

Quick crossword no. 353

Across

- 1 Cease to arque the point (5,2,6) 8 Go away by moonlight? (4)
- 9 Rich and spacious (8)
- 10 Improve (10) 12 False (6) 14 Up-to-date (6) 15 When fancy

turns to

love? (6-4) 19 Type of gun (8) 20 Spy or

21 Nuts from the Middle East (6,7

Down

- 2 Source of wealth (4-4)
- 3 Praise (5) 4 Solendid (3-4) 5 Divided river mouth (5)
- 6 Stupid person 7 Vigour and style (4)

11 Collapsed or shrivelled (8)

17 Speed in music (5) 18 NII (4)

13 Answer (7) 14 Inorganic matter (7)

Last week's solution PUTOUTTOGRASS
A H R U I U U
TRIGGER MAGOG
C E B C H A
BAKE FOURSTAR
U E M T A
L
MUTTER OCTAVO
B MAGOG
L OSTBALL BUFF
U L A K G N
DRAMA ARCADIA
O N N L A E S
MAGNETICNORTH 16 Black bird (5)

Bridge Zia Mahmood

as they did then. The breeze on

other allegiance. Along the passage of the burnished shield, the golden

There remains a whispering here in

the grass and hollies. A growing

darkness stalks the rings and

into the far blue yonder.

year's Christmas competition. The remaining two answers and the prizewinners will be announced Problem 2 next week. Because of the number | South West North of people who replied by e-mail, the total entry was higher than ever before, and the standard of the answers on a difficult set of prob- ◆A 10953 ♥KQ72 ◆4 ◆K65 lems was excellent.

South INT No No

♦AKJ76 ♥A2 ♦73 **♦**AQ95

Rank in order of preference: 2♠, 2NT: 3♠

My answer: 34; 24; 2NT. The great Adam Meredith used to say hat 5-4-2-2 was a distribution made for playing in a suit, not in NT. If partner has a club fit, or a partial spade fit, or both, we definitely belong in a black suit, and we might | at the one level. If you would double even make a slam in clubs! So I 10 for takeout, you should almost prefer both 30 and 20 to 2NT, certainly double 30 for takeout. which could lead us into danger if | That is good advice, but should not partner is weak in either red suit. be taken to extremes. While an The fine controls in this hand, and overcall at the one level promises no when they go down!

HERE ARE my answers to the fact that my long suits are also more than 8 or 9 points with a good first three problems in last my strong suits, weigh the scales suit, a three-level overcall of an area of the scales very heavily in favour of 3.

Rank in order of preference:

My answer: double: 36: pass. It's risky, but you must get into the

pass; double; 34

bidding when the enemy pre-empt and you are short in their suit. If the opening bid had been 10, modern experts would overcall 14 in preference to double, hoping to introduce the hearts later. But at the three level, you are cramped, and must try to describe your hand as well as vou can with one shot. A simple rule for dealing with pre-emptive openings is to treat

Problem 3 West South

♦KQ9832 ♥Q65 **♦**A4 **♠**Q6 Rank in order of preference:

My answer: 34; 44; 24. The last is for real hand hoge — partner has promised at least five hearts with his response, and there is no reson at all not to support him. If I had the ace of spades instead of the king queen, I would probably go all the way to four hearts, but the fact that the spade honours may be no used all to partner inclines me to the more conservative action. Sorty to them as you would treat an opening

enciny pre-empt ought to be based on at least the values for an opening

North East

2♠; 3♥; 4♥

all those solvers who guessed that would overbid as usual, but my experience is that pariners away bid four hearts in this sequence anyway and I prefer to have some thing in hand so that it isn't my fault

WBO/IBF world featherweight title

Hamed simply world-class

John Rawling

THE Prince has been crowned King. Naseem Hamed's eight-round destruction of Tom ohnson at the London Arena on Saturday was so complete, so masterful, that Hamed is entitled to be regarded as the No 1 featherweight in the world.

Johnson's IBF belt to the WBO version of the title lie already held. Those fight fans who were bleary-eyed after staying up to witness the Lewis-McCall farce, were revitalised by the bout.

Hamed was quite electrifying. Johnson, aged 32, had been a fine champion for four years. He showed enough skill and bravcry to ensure his opponent was horoughly pushed. The key to the outcome was Hamed's

A third-round blitz from the 5ft 3in Sheffield fighter almost anded matters, as Hamed tried to fulfil a pre-fight promise to his mother that the contest would end there. But a marvellous right by Johnson shortly before the bell brought the experienced American back into the

quick finish but by the halfway stage Johnson had worked his way back, using his neat boxing skills. But his senses were scrambled once more in the sev enth as Hamed cut loose.

When the end came Johnson almost out on his feet and fell into a blistering right uppercut which left him on the canvas. Astonishingly, the old warrior got up at nine, but the referee wisely called a halt. On the same bill, Dubliner

Steve Collins, who had the early years of his fight career in the United States, out-punched Frédéric Seillier before opening cuts on the Frenchman's face to retain his WBO super-middleweight title in the fifth round.

Meanwhile Robin Reld, the muscular Liverpudlian who holds the WBC version of the super-middleweight title, was too big and strong for South African middleweight champion Giovanni Pretorius, who succumbed to the Briton in the seyenth round.

Most experts had predicted a Park last week.

month are accepted. Under the scheme, an electronic

Sports Diary Shiv Sharma

United undone by the Dons

not be making a record fourth successive FA Cup appearance at Wembley later this under the entire pitch would pick up year. The holders were bundled out the positions of ball and players of the competition by Wimbledon in the fourth-round replay at Selhurst

A 64th-minute goal by Marcus **Gavie was enough to beat Alex Fer**guson's team and earn Wimbledon a fifth-round tie at home to Queens Park Rangers. United's neighbours Manchester City, won their FA Cut tie against Watford, 3-1.

Also through to the next round are Leeds United, who beat Arsenal 1-0 at Highbury, and Chesterfield who defeated Bolton 3-2. Wrexham made further progress by beating Peterborough 4-2 while Coventry brought Woking's highly successful run to a close with a 2-1 victory over the Vauxhall Conference side.

BRITISH soccer will soon undergo a technical revolution if radical proposals to be put before the Football Association later this

the cover of the ball. A metal grid using radio waves. The positions would then be relayed to a computer in the stand where an official would analyse the 23 moving dots whether a player is offside The idea is recommended in a re-

port prepared for the Football Association by Professor Nigel Allinson of the University of Manchester Institute of Science and Technology. It envisages four other innovations becoming commonplace at top football grounds before the millennium. These include linking the referee's watch electronically to a stadium clock, so that the fans know how much stoppage time is being played, and the placing of an electronic gadget in the gonlposts to de-cide whether the ball has crossed

AUSTRALIAN doubles partners Todd Woodbridge and Mark

ANCHESTER United will | tag would be attached to each play- | grip on the Davis Cup with victory | not be making a record | ers and a metal coating fixed inside | in the decisive doubles game in in the decisive doubles game in their World Group first round tie in

best Cedric Pioline of France 7-6. 64 before Arnold Boetsch prevented the whitewash by fighting back from a set down to win on a tie break 4-6, 6-4, 7-6.

S NOOKER star Steve Davis re-covered from 8-4 down to beat Ronnie O'Sullivan 10-8 in the Benson & Hedges Masters final at Wembley Conference Centre on Sunday, to win his first title for two

BRUNO Kernen gave Switzer-land its first Alpine skiing World Championship gold medal in four years when he recorded a shock victory in the men's downhill event at Sestriere, Italy. At the same venue, Norway's Kjetil-Andre Annodt secured the men's combined gold medal with a total time of 3min 10.40sec. It was the fourth Woodforde ended France's brief | gold medal of his career.